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ABSTRACT

Graduate students and faculty from within and outside of the University of Pittsburgh community were among the presenters at this colloquium on educational change and challenge. The papers include: Academic Freedom, Anti-Communism, and the McCarthy Era (Steve Aby); The Finnish Contribution to the American Workers' Education Movement (Richard J. Altenbaugh); The Handicapped and Pennsylvania Educational Legislation (Richard J. Cooper); A Method for Teaching Meaning in the Arts: Giving Heart to the Amateur (John E. Freed); Back to Basics--A National Strategy: An Exploration of Issues and Implications (Tricia Gennari): The Legal Ramifications of Competency Based Education Project 81 (Leonidas A. Gibbs); School Finance Reform Through the Judicial Process: An Analysis of the Courts' Policy-Making Role in Changing the System for Financing Public Schools (John J. Giusti); The Attitude of College English Faculty Toward Remedial English: A Pilot Study (Patricia E. Holland); The Politics of Education (John P. McDonough), Impact of Research on Educational Policy (Mahmud Ahmed Musa); Women Teachers in Teachers' Institutes, Pittsburgh, 1860-1880 (Marguerite Renner); The Concept-Structure Analysis Technique: The Concept, the Procedure, and Applications (David A. Squires and Alphonse T. DeSena); and The Psychological Benefits and Hardships Which Physically Disabled and Nondisabled Children Receive from Mainstreaming (Linda Anne Swazuk). (MSE)

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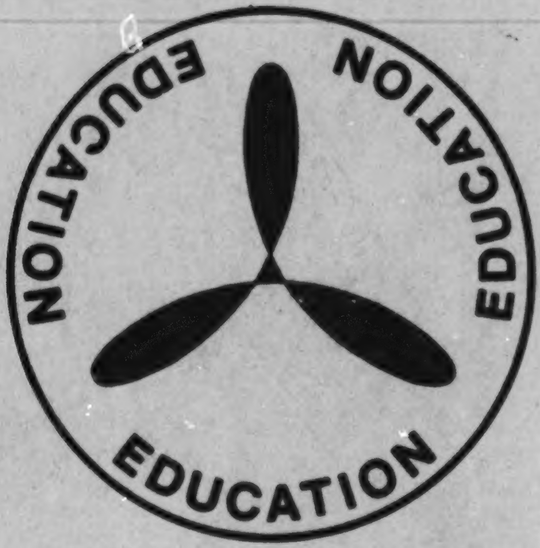

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Crisis, Challenge, and Change: Perspectives in Education

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PREFACE

The Fourth Annual Colloquium was the Council of Graduate Students in Education's reaffirmation of its commitment to encourage scholarship among graduate students in education, and to provide a professional forum for the sharing of the products of scholarly endeavour.

This year's Colloquium kicked off with an opening ceremony. Council President Tom Gemmell welcomed students, faculty, and participants. Dr. Wilma Smith, Chairperson of the Division of Educational Development and Service, welcomed the audience and commended the Council for an active year. Dr. John Bolvin, Associate Dean of the School of Education, addressed the issue of state funding of higher education in Pennsylvania as it related to the University of Pittsburgh.

Because of the Colloquium theme "Crisis, Challenge, and Change: Perspectives in Education", there were a variety of papers and informal presentations which explored broad and specific educational issues: legal and policy questions in education; economic and social forces affecting education; teaching and methodological techniques; and education for the handicapped. Among the presenters were graduate students and faculty from within and outside of the University of Pittsburgh community. The unique mix of presentations by educators with varying professional and academic persuasions facilitated an interchange of educational thought.

The Vera Gouke Howard Award, an added feature to the 1978 Colloquium, was presented by the Council to one graduate student who submitted the best paper. This award honored Ms. Howard because of her contributions to the Council as Program Coordinator in 1976-1977 before her untimely death of cancer in November, 1977. A faculty committee judged the papers submitted for the competition and the paper entitled "Impact of Research on Educational Policy" received this award.

The Council wishes to thank the fourteen writers for making their papers available to others in this volume. Thanks are also due to the people who gave informal presentations during the Colloquium: William Bowles, Margot Critchfield, Fred DiNapoli, Helen Hazi, Anthony Lucas and Elizabeth Strenkowski.

There were many individuals who made the Colloquium possible. The Council, therefore, expresses its appreciation to the School of Education administration for its unfailing support to the Council; to Drs. Carol Baker, Ernest Dorow, Raymond Garris, and Robert Schuck for their willingness to serve as members of the faculty committee to judge papers for the Vera Gouke Howard Award; to Dr. C. Dianne Colbert,the Council Advisor, for advice; to Dr. Cecil Gouke for presenting the award in honor of his sister Ms. Howard; and to the faculty, staff, students, and Council members for their assistance.

Finally, members of the Colloquium Committee--Helen Hazi, Julian E. Abuso, Tom Gemmell, Gregory LeRoy, Baloch Qamar and Richard Cooper--deserve commendation for their untiring effort to make this year's Colloquium a professionally enriching experience to everyone.

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM, ANTI-COMMUNISM AND THE MCCARTHY ERA

By

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Steve Aby

Academic Freedom, Anti-Communism
and the McCarthy Era

Academic freedom has never been as conspicuously in jeopardy as it was during the McCarthy Era. Some academics were fired, some were never hired, and many more were no doubt intimidated. Yet the historical causes of these "episodes" have been obscured by an ahistorical preoccupation with the period's uniqueness. The purpose of this paper is to attempt to rectify this deficiency. Consequently, a number of areas will be developed. First, the period will be placed in historical perspective, with an examination of some of its political economic and ideological causes. Second, the nature of the attack on academic freedom will be presented. Third, the liberal defense against this attack will be examined. Fourth, the inadequacies of the attack and defense, and their commonalities, will be analyzed.

The McCarthy Era might be seen by some as having been an aberration and, surprisingly, the work of one man. Yet it will be shown that anti-communist, anti-labor and anti-socialist positions are inherent in capitalist ideologies. McCarthyism was not a throwback of intolerance in an otherwise long trend of tolerance for socialism. Rather, McCarthyism was an outgrowth of the Cold War, and the failure of the United States to impose its Open Door policy on the post-war world. Additionally, it was part of an historical trend of anti-communism, and, not surprisingly, it reflected some earlier anti-communist arguments. Therefore, to fully understand McCarthyism, we must discuss the origins and consequences of the Cold War. Once this is done, we can better understand the actions of Sidney Hook, the American Association of University Professors, and others in the "McCarthy Era."

The conclusion of World War 2, with the "successful" detonation and military use of the atomic bomb, saw the United States in a position of some considerable power in foreign affairs. The direction in which such power would be directed has been analyzed by William Appleman Williams. At bottom, the U.S. post World War 2 polities were dictated by the "open-door outlook" and its economic definition of the world:

> The various themes which went into America's conception of the freedom and the necessity of open-door expansion, from the doctrine of the elect to the frontier thesis, had been synthesized into an ideology before Roosevelt's death. Once it was frozen into an ideology, it became very difficult -- and perhaps artificial, even then -- to assign priorities to its various facets. Even a single man, let alone a group, emphasized different themes at various times. Yet the open-door outlook was based on an economic definition of the world, and this explanation of reality was persistently stressed by America's corporate leadership as it developed its policy toward the Soviet Union and other nations. It was not the possession of the atomic bomb which prompted American leaders to get tough with Russia but rather their open-door outlook which interpreted the bomb as the final guarantee that they could go further faster down the path to world predominance(Williams, 1959).

The open-door policy was one which saw the accessibility of foreign markets for American products and investments as essential to the health of the U.S. economy. In fact, Williams pointed out that an integral part of the open-door outlook of this period was the "fear that America's economic system would suffer a serious depression if it did not continue to expand overseas. Stressing the fact that there remained roughly nine million unemployed in 1940, one leading New Deal senator warned in 1943 that the danger of another depression could not be overemphasized."(Williams, 1959) The senator was certainly not alone in his evaluation of the state of the U.S. economy. Secretary of State Dean Acheson, "(a)long with almost every other American leader...was gravely concerned lest the economy slide back into the depression of the 1930's or collapse in a new debacle at the end of the war."(Williams, 1959) Secretary of State Henry A. Wallace, "deeply concerned about the problem of preventing a depression...persistently talked between 1943 and 1947 about overseas expansion as the new frontier. 'Private enterprise in the United States can survive only if it expands and grows,' he argued, and pointed out that he was only trying to help the businessmen do what they themselves advocated. 'The old frontiers must be rebuilt,' as he put it, and pointed to American economic expansion into the poor, underdeveloped countries as 'this unlimited new frontier of opportunities.'"(Williams, 1959) Such statements highlight the urgent character of policy emphasis on open-door expansion (the level of foreign sales by American corporations reached $58 billion in 1956)(Williams, 1959). Furthermore, corporate capitalists and their government representatives, such as Acheson, were not at all unaware of the economic and socio-political dangers of another depression. The growth during the last Depression of radicalism, labor unions and other organization which threatened the stability of capitalism was not forgotten. That spectre must have added force to the other factors which supported the open-door. Dean Acheson summed up these points, and their implications for foreign policy, before a Congressional committee in 1944. If the U.S. should suffer another depression,

> "it seems clear that we are in for a very bad time, so far as the economic and social position of the country is concerned. We cannot go through another ten years like the ten years at the end of the twenties and the beginning of the thirties, without having the most far-reaching consequences upon our economic and social system.
>
> "When we look at that problem," he continued, "we may say it is a problem of markets...We have got to see that what the country produces is used and is sold under financial arrangements which make its production possible." The solution, Acheson explained to the Congressmen, was not in doubt. "You must look to foreign markets."(Williams, 1959)

The significance of the Soviet Union in the plans for the post war open-door policy is considerable. As a consequence of the treaties and agreements at the end of the war, the major victorious powers were each given spheres of influence. Such areas were controlled either jointly or primarily by one power. In the case of the Soviet Union, their areas of predominance were Eastern Europe and the Balkans. This was Allied policy, agreed to in armistice agreements, agreements between Churchill and Stalin, and at Yalta(Williams, 1959; Alperovitz, 1965). Yet the United States was never willing to concede to the Soviets the control over those vast areas. Of primary importance to U.S. diplomats and corporate capitalists was the open-door policy, and its application to Soviet controlled areas. Those areas had to be kept open to U.S. trade and investment. Prior to development of the bomb, this U.S. goal was to be achieved with both the continued presence of large numbers of troops in Europe, and the lend-lease policy toward the Soviet Union. The Soviets were so severely ravaged by the war, and Stalin so intent on recovery as the main post-war task, that U.S. policy makers would swap (blackmail?) concessions(Williams, 1959; Alperovitz, 1965). For example, Foreign Economic Administrator Leo Crowley, upon the surrender of Japan, cancelled all "lend-lease allocations to Russia."(Williams, 1959) Williams documents the fact that Crowley's motivation, along with that of others, was "to use American economic power to coerce the Russians on policy issues."(Williams, 1959) Once the bomb was developed, it helped supplement American means to achieving the Open-Door policy, but it didn't alter that goal:

> "Stimson's diary entry covering a conversation with Truman of June 6, 1945 indicates that American leaders were conscious of the relationship between the bomb and their general strategy at an early date. Truman 'said that he had been thinking of that,' Stimson noted, 'and mentioned the same things that I was thinking of, namely the settlement of the Polish, Rumanian, Yugoslavian, and Manchurian problems.' By the end of the month, in preparation for the Potsdam Conference, the American position concerning the countries of eastern Europe had become clear and firm. The United States planned 'to insist on the reorganization of the present governments or the holding of free general elections.' The broad objective was phrased in the classic terms of the Open Door policy: 'To permit American nationals to enter, move about freely and carry on commercial and governmental operations unmolested in the countries in question.'"(Williams, 1959)

As Gar Alperovitz documented in his book Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam, U.S. diplomats felt that the atomic bomb was their trump card in forcing the Open Door policy upon the Soviet Union. Even U.S. policy and diplomatic tactics prior to the bomb's completion involved deception and delay. As an example, Williams points out that the U.S. made reparations agreements at Potsdam which it had no intention of keeping. Why did the U.S. do this?:

> It is, simply that the United States--confident in its vast economic and military superiority over Russia--made the reparations agreement to avoid any indirect financing of Soviet recovery. American leaders were certain that the bomb, and Russia's great recovery needs, provided them with the leverage to re-establish the Open Door, and pro-Western governments, in eastern Europe.(Williams, 1959)

The U.S. felt that if it could bide time and not reach or honor any definitive agreements, that it would soon be in a position to dictate policy to the Soviet Union. At the London Foreign Minister's conference of 1945, the "United States used its power to attempt to displace an existing agreement. As Byrnes later explained to the Congress, the American objective was 'the maintenance of the open door in the Balkans.' Specifically, Byrnes was 'disturbed' by, and sought to limit or stop completely, the Soviet moves to establish close economic partnerships with eastern European nations...The American objective was...as the London Times described the postwar maneuver, to establish the conditions under which there would be 'free entry into the Danube Valley and Eastern Europe for the goods and capital of the Western countries.'"(Williams, 1959)

Intimately related to these foreign policies was the increase of military expenditures. In fact, the period following WW2 has been characterized as the beginning of the "permanent war economy."(Melman, 1974; Perlo, 1973) The push for more military spending was a natural outgrowth of United States foreign policy and international anti-communism. The real impact of military spending, however, was in its economic possibilities. Domestically, capitalists and "government planners" believed that military spending could counter economic cycles:

> "Government planners figure they have found the magic formula for almost endless good times. They are now beginning to wonder if there may not be something to perpetual motion after all...Cold War is the catalyst. Cold War is an automatic pump-primer. Turn a spigot, and the public clamors for more arms spending. Turn another, the clamor ceases. Truman confidence cockiness, is based on this 'Truman formula.' Truman era of good times, President is told, can run much beyond 1952. Cold War demands, if fully exploited, are almost limitless"(U.S. News and World Report, 1950)

Victor Perlo had demonstrated that military spending has, in fact, increased, and not decreased, fluctuations in the economic cycle(Perlo, 1973). It does seem true, however, that a war economy was and is a source of large profits for the war industries(Melman, 1974).

Besides the direct affects of military spending on the domestic, capitalist economy, there are indirect affects as well. Increases in military spending were essential to anti-communist foreign policy, and to the establishment of the open door. Therefore, a war economy provided large profits not only in the immediate sense, but also in the longer run through the succes of U.S. imperialism. In discussing this function of military spending, Victor Perlo observed that

> The decisive factor has been the foreign policy objectives of U.S. imperialism. These are, in brief, to confront the Soviet Union and other socialist countries militarily, to prevent the formation of socialist and anti-imperialist governments wherever possible, to open up all areas possible for investment by U.S. corporations, and to establish bases from which to attack or threaten other lands--with the same ultimate ends in view(Perlo, 1973).

Briefly, these were some of the policies and tactics used by U.S. diplomats at the end of the war. However, this international situation was only part of the problem that we need to consider. For while the United States was attempting to force the Open Door policy on the postwar world, there was an accompanying domestic, ideological need. That is, the country had to be supplied with an ideological justification and rationale for the international course it was pursuing. In a nutshell, the country "needed" some anti-communist fervor to lend support to international policy. The outlines of this particular'period's anti-communism provide us with the basics of the "McCarthy Era."

In order to begin to develop a view of the postwar anti-communism, a useful starting place might be at the top...President Harry S. Truman. William Appleman Williams points out that Truman was in the vanguard of this period's anti-communism. Furthermore, Truman laid out many of its basic elements:

> Preseident Harry S. Truman was for his part an enthusiastic and militant advocate of America's supremacy in the world. He seemed, indeed, to react, think, and act as an almost classic personification of the entire Open Door Policy. From a very early date, moreover, he led the rapid revival of the analogy between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union(and Hitler and Stalin) which became one of the fundamental clichés of America's analysis of the postwar world(Williams, 1959).

Williams further stated that "President Truman blamed all the troubles of the world on the Seviet Union, and American leaders in and out of government

> "bombarded the American people with a 'hate the enemy' campaign rarely seen in our history; never, certainly, in peace time.'"(Williams, 1959)

And as Williams pointed out, there were certainly many others who uncritically accepted these ideological characterization of the postwar world. However, there were also the more class conscious ideologists and politicians. Such people no doubt saw the necessity of the postwar anti-communism:

> But it is also true that there were a good many men who shared the attitude of Senator Arthur K. Vandenberg. He thought it was necessary "to scare hell out of the American people" in order to win their active approval and support for the kind of vigorous anti-Soviet policy he wanted. Those men did consciously employ exaggeration and oversimplification to accomplish their objectives(Williams, 1959).

The intensification of an anti-communist ideology was not limited to the American scene. On the contrary, it took on international proportions. In 1939, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) held its inaugural meeting in Berlin. "A number of themes quickly emerged...which would become potential staples in the following decade. One was an end to ideology, the assertion that conventional political distinctions had become irrelevant in the face of the need for a united front against Bolshevism."(Lasch, 1968) Another point, which harkened back to the "educational" efforts of the National Civic Federation, was the belief "that exposure to communism was the only effective form of 'inoculation' against it..."(Lasch, 1968) Presumably, the Congress for Cultural Freedom would also educate people as to the real meaning of communism. In addition, the CCF levelled an attack at liberals (a move made by Sidney Hook too):

> Anti-communism, for such men as Koestler and Borkenau, represented a new stage in their running polemic against bourgeois sentimentality and weakness, bourgeois "utopianism," and bourgeois materialism. That explains their eagerness to connect Bolshevism with liberalism--to show that the two ideologies sprang from a common root and that it was the softness and sentimentality of bourgeois liberals which had paradoxically allowed communism--liberalism's deadly enemy, one might have supposed--to pervade Western society in the thirties and forties(Lasch, 1968).

Christopher Lasch has pointed out that this critique of liberalism and communism, or "utopianism" and materialism, had a certain pragmatic flavor to it. He noted its particularly comfortable fit with the American pragmatist tradition. Certainly, this criticism of "utopian" and materialist "extremes" is not without precedent. The pragmatists of the Metaphysical Club (1870's), in formulating their philosophy against materialist science, criticized both the theological "spiritual world" and the "materialist world" as being metaphysical conceptions. Subsequently, these pragmatists asserted their own pragmatic, bourgeois ideology to fill the void.

The Cold War version of this pragmatist critique is not dissimilar to the earlier one. Lasch observed that

> In the fifties, this high-level McCarthyism sometimes served as a defense of McCarthyism proper. More often it was associated with official efforts to pre-empt a modified McCarthyism while denouncing McCarthy as a demagogue. In both capacities it contributed measurablly to the Cold War(Lasch, 1968).

Thus, the Cold War intellectuals, represented by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom (with Hook, John Dewey and George Counts as members, among others) and the CCF, undertook an attack similar to the earlier pragmatists' attack. In criticizing the liberals and communists on one hand, and the extremism of McCarthyism on the other, they cleared the way for their own brand of anti-communism. As Lasch correctly indicated, these pragmatic intellectual anti-communists were still supported of capitalist interests in the Cold War:

> As we shall see, the Cold War liberals have not hesitated to criticize American popular culture or popular politics, but the question is whether they have criticized the American government or any other aspect of the officially sanctioned order. And the fact is that Encounter, like other journals sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Freedom (except perhaps for Censorship, which recently expired), consistently approved the broad lines and even the details of American policy...(Lasch, 1968)

Lasch aptly concluded that "(t)he Cold War intellectuals revealed themselves as the servants of bureaucratic power..."(Lasch, 1968)

In summing up the general character of the anti-communist ideology of this period, Williams said that

> Most American leaders...continued to think and act according to their traditional assumption and belief that Marxism, the Soviet Union

> and communists in general were wholy incapable of maturing into something more humane. In one form or another, therefore, Americans operated on the premise that most of the difficulties in the world were cause by the Soviet Union or agents, fellow travelers, and dupes of the Kremlin(Williams, 1959).

A number of Marxist writers of the "McCarthy Era" quite properly showed the connection between domestic and international anti-communism and the previously discussed political economic crises. The editors of Monthly Review, writing in response to the Supreme Court's support for the conviction of 11 Communists under the Smith Act, provided the following insights into freedom under capitalism:

> To Marxists, the Supreme Court decision furnishes conclusive support for the argument that the freedoms which capitalist societies "guarantee" in their constitutions exist only as long as they are not dangerous or embarrassing to the ruling class. If the capitalists feel secure in their rule--in "ordinary times"--political and economic dissenting opinions may be tolerated. But when the ruling class feels insecure, when war hysteria must be kept at a fever pitch to justify vast expenditures on armaments--in "extraordinary times"--then dissenters are clapped into jail. This is such a period(Monthly Review, 1951, No.3).

The connection between these "extraordinary times," and the need of the capitalist class to oppose social change, was elaborated upon by Arthur Davis. He pointed out, as did Williams earlier, that capitalism was stabilized "at home and abroad" by the equating of any social change with communism:

> Both at home and abroad, the strategic spearhead of the conservative counteroffensive is the drive against "Communism" with a foreign power, the Soviet Union. The crucial equation is "change=Communism=Russia." Propagation of this belief is basic to the strategy of the right...The Communist label is being applied ever more widely to designate--and stifle--any proposal to change the existing social order...once labelled "Communist," change-seeking groups and individuals become fair game for repressive sanctions of all sorts, because the hysteria-arousing label automatically defines them as enemies and outcasts whose civil rights may be justly flouted(Davis, 1951).

Such legislation as the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, the Feinberg Law, the Lusk Laws, and such congressional committees as H.U.A.C., the Canwell Committee (Wash.), the Rapp-Coudert Committee (N.Y.), and the Tenney Committee (Cal.), effectively put forth this ideological position. An examination of a few of these committees and representative anti-communist legislation should expose their ideological bias.

A forerunner of the modern-day anti-communist legislative committee was the Lusk Committee in New York. This committee, which operated in 1919-1920, pioneered many of the oppressive and undemocratic techniques to be found in subsequent committees. Responding to the widespread labor unrest and agitation following WW1 and the Russian Revolution, the committee resolved

> to learn the whole truth regarding these seditious activities and to pass when such truth is ascertained such legislation as may be necessary to protect the government of the State and to insure the maintenance of the rights of its citizens(Gellhorn, 1952).

Unfortunately, the Lusk Committee turned out to be more an arm of the police than a legislative body. Its mode of operation was to conduct a police raid of some organization, gain evidence, and then conduct a "hearing" to present their findings. The objects of the committee's attention were liberal, progressive and reform oriented organizations. In the collective mind of the Lusk Committee, they were all subversive:

> The committee betrayed its unsuitability for its task by the clumsy, crude quality of its judgements. Utter lack of discrimination led it to lump all liberal and radical institutions or organizations together. But its initial lack of sensitivity was not as reprehensible as its willingness to twist facts in order to smear its victim(Gellhorn, 1952).

Illustrative of the committee's tactics was its raid upon the Rand School of Social Science in New York City. This socialist, labor-oriented organization was raided twice by the committee's police forces. Property and papers were taken away to committee headquarters. All of this was achieved through the use of John Doe search warrants, which in effect gave the committee a blank check.

Subsequent to such raids, the committee would hold a public hearing, where "(m)embers of the committee staff or hand-picked witnesses would then read into the record selected bits of evidence. Thus the public hearing became merely a publicity device, calculated to dramatize what had already been done rather than to add to the committee's understanding."(Gellhorn, 1952)

It seems that the committee's function was to oppose all efforts at social change during the postwar unrest. By labelling all change-oriented groups as "communist," the committee facilitated its oppressive tactics. It could then be seen as acting in the "national interest" against "foreign agitators."

The period following the Depression was an equally volatile period in American history, and there too one finds legislative action against subversion. The increased labor agitation and class consciousness growing out of the Depression obviously jeopardized existing class relations. Radicalism had to be contained. One of the most widespread manifestations of this situation was the loyalty oath for school teachers:

> During the thirties, considerable effort was directed toward the passage of laws requiring loyalty oaths for teachers. By 1935, over twenty states had passed such laws. The major thrust of these laws was to eliminate radical teachers. Most of the support for loyalty oaths stemmed from the belief that there existed a real danger to the Republic in the person of teachers who were imposing un-American and subversive doctrines on the nation's school children(Violas, 1971).

The Ives Loyalty Oath Law in New York state was and is a good example of this movement. The law, passed in 1934, "required teachers in all public schools and in private schools operating on tax-exempt property"(Gellhorn, 1952) to swear loyalty and support to the constitutions of the federal and state government.

These earlier committees and laws demonstrate that the ones in the 40's and 50's were not unique. On the contrary, they were part of an historically demonstrated trend of American capitalism. That is, when capitalism was under pressure as an economic and politcal entity, it would lash out at critical elements in the society. These elements were often socialist. However, liberal or reformist organizations were attacked as well when they threatened the security of class interests. For example, the 1920's labor unrest was blamed on Bolshevism, despite the rabid anti-communism of much of labor's leadership(Boyer and Morais, 1955). This points up the fact that in times of trouble, the capitalist class, and the state in its behalf, react in a most extreme manner. The legislative committees of the 1940's and 50's further substantiate this point.

The Tenney Committee in California (1941-1949) aptly demonstrated its rabid anti-communism, and its staunch opposition to social change. One of the committees own statements regarding its estimates about communism is enlightening:

> A world-wide Communist conspiracy directed from Moscow has swept eastern Europe and is moving ahead in China and other Asiatic countries. The grand objective of this conspiracy is to capture America, and war between Russia and the United States is inevitable and imminent. The Communist Party in the United States is the local agent of this world-wide conspiracy, and its basic aim is the abolition of our present system of government and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place. "Thus, every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur and espionage agent of Soviet Russia."(Barrett, 1952)

Armed with this "understanding" of communism, the committee conducted its operations in an arbitrary and fanatical fashion. It not only heard testimony and "evidence" which fit its preconceptions, but it normally refused to hear contrary testimony. This behavior was combined with the committee's free-wheeling use of guilt-by-association to allow them to reach their predetermined conclusions. Edward Barrett summed up these features of the Tenney Committee:

> Insofar as can be ascertained from studying the public record of the committee's activity this "thorough documentation and proof" which would lead to "indisputable conclusions" regarding an individual's sympathy for the Communist movement rested almost wholly upon that individual's associations...
>
> The committee rarely made an effort to get a complete and well-rounded picture of a suspected individual's associations. The emphasis was always on associations with organizations thought to be Communist fronts...Most of the people listed by the committee, in fact, were never given an opportunity to explain their associations. Only a small fraction of those named in the reports were ever called before the committee. Many of those called were, of course, evasive and unsatisfactory witnesses...But even those people who were willing to answer questions and anxious to explain their philosophies and associations were rarely permitted to do so(Barrett, 1952).

The obvious effect of such red-baiting on the part of the committee would be to support the political-economic status quo. Attention was diverted from social problems and their possible real causes, and blame was laid at the door-step of Communism. Consequently, efforts at social change could be dismissed as merely "communist agitation." As Arthur Davis put this reactionary equation, Change=Communism=Russia.

The Rapp-Coudert committee in New York state in 1940 demonstrated both the undemocratic methods and the anti-communism of the Tenney Committee. The impetus for forming the committee came from concern over public school financing and the hiring of Bertrand Russell at C.C.N.Y. However, Russell was never allowed to accept the position. His appointment was opposed because he was considered to have immoral or subversive ideas regarding sex, marriage and religion. This opposition, of course, violated his constituionally guaranteed freedom of speech. Over and above this, the course he was designated to teach at C.C.N.Y. had nothing to do with the "sensitive" subjects. Nonetheless, Russell was denied the position to which he had previously been appointed.

While the Russell case provided a catalyst for the Rapp-Coudert committee's formation, the committee ventured into broader areas. One of its initial, and strongest, areas of interest was the Teachers' Union. The connection between the union, subversion, and the allocation of public funds for education can be seen from the following:

> It was directed to look into the entire broad question of allocating state education funds among school throughout the state and also to investigate the administration and conduct of the public school system of New York City, including the "extent to which, if any, subversive activities may have been permitted to be carried on in the schools and colleges." (Chamberlain, 1952)

The committee attempted to get lists of the union membership...a possible source of "subversives." They succeeded in getting the list. However, whether it was toward the goal of getting subversives or union-busting is not clear. As Lawrence Chamberlain observed, the committee had no access to Communist Party membership lists(Chamberlain, 1952). And teachers' union lists made no mention of political party affiliation. Consequently, not much could be discovered from them. The committee's obtaining of the lists could be seen as a form of harassment aimed at the union.

The conduct of the committee's investigations and hearings was undemocratic and arbitrary. Teachers who were accused of being communists or subversives were given no effective channel to provide contradictory evidence. They were, instead, told to file their evidence in documentary form:

> The right of the teachers to full opportunity to present their side of the case does not seem an unreasonable request. The evidence against them had been presented in great detail, and the committee witnesses had been encouraged to dwell at length upon incidents or actions in which the respondents were alleged to have been involved. Here then was the first opportunity to give their story. The chairman's proposal that they could file their evidence where the press could examine it did not strike them as a suitable substitute for the right to speak themselves(Chamberlain, 1952).

Lawrence Chamberlain, given neither to sympathy for communism nor exaggeration, observed that "(q)uite apparently they had already made up their minds concerning the guilt of those appearing before them."(Chamberlain, 1952)

Teachers accused of being communists by the Rapp-Coudert committee were subsequently brought before the board of higher education. Here, it seems they were given short shrift. If the accused teacher was not tenured, his or her contract would not be renewed(Chamberlain, 1952). If, however, the teacher was tenured, a trial was provided. Although trial conduct gave the appearance of objectivity, there seem to be grounds for believing that the verdicts were predetermined:

> Evidence on both sides was chiefly circumstantial and inconclusive. A reading of the transcripts does not establish a clear preponderance of evidence on either side. Final verdict, then, depended to a large extent upon the particular assumptions of the persons reviewing the evidence. When in the first trial, therefore, a verdict of guilty was rendered on the evidence, it was not unlikely that subsequent trial committees confronted with substantially the same evidence would reach the same verdict(Chamberlain, 1952).

That verdict was "guilty" in every case but one (and it took place under abnormal circumstances).

The inadequacy of the cases made against the teachers is further highlighted by one particular case. In this instance, the board of higher education's "guilty" decision was overturned by the state commissioner of education. The primary reason was "insufficient evidence to sustain a finding of guilt."(Chamberlain, 1952)

In 1949 New York state passed the Feinberg Law, which was apparently an attempt to follow-up the incomplete efforts of the Rapp-Coudert committee(Chamberlain, 1952). The law stayed in the tradition of anti-communist legislation by not only restricting free speech, but also affirming guilt-by-association. One of the rules provided in the board of regents' implementation of the law stated that:

> Evidence of membership in any organization on the list ten days after promulgation shall constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification... (Chamberlain, 1952)

The list referred to was any list of subversive organizations, issued by any federal agency, which the board of regents wanted to adopt. In addition, the state commissioner of education, Francis T. Spaulding, gave the following "tips" on how to catch subversives:

> The officials will face a twofold duty. It will be their responsibility to help the school authorities rid the school system of persons who "use their office or position to advocate and teach subversive doctrines."...The writing of articles, the distribution of pamphlets, the endorsement of speeches made or articles written or acts performed by others, all may constitute subversive activity.
>
> Nor need such activity be confined to the classroom. Treasonable or subversive acts or statements outside the school are as much a basis for dismissal as are similar activities in school or in the presence of school children...(Chamberlain, 1952)

These are interesting guidelines. For one, a teacher can't "advocate or teach subversive doctrines." Yet what if a doctrine is both "true" or verifiable and subversive? This contradiction reveals, once again, a basic flaw of the bourgeois marketplace-of-ideas: socialist ideas are not part of the marketplace. The above statements also reveal that constitutional rights can and should (by capitalist standards) be denied communists. The same anti-communism has reappeared again and again. It will continue to reappear because its justification is found in the very structure and ideology of capitalist society.

The Canwell Committee in the state of Washington began its operations in 1947. Its goal was explicitly to search out "'un-American activities' in the state."(Countryman, 1952) To this end, it carried out investigations of such entities as the Washington Pension Union and the University of Washington at Seattle. The university investigation aptly represents the committee's techniques and assumptions. Senator Bienz, a member of the committee, stated in 1948 that:

> there were "probably not less than 150 on the University of Washington faculty who are Communists or sympathizers with the Communist Party..." (Countryman, 1952)

The prospects of the university being "overrun" with communists must have inspired the committee. It also must have inspired the Board of Regents, who declared that "if evidence is presented through the work of the Committee, showing beyond any doubt any faculty member to be engaged in subversive activity, it would move immediately for such member's dismissal."(Countryman, 1952)

In the course of its hearings, the committee demonstrated its complete lack of regard for fair and democratic proceedings. For example, Mr. Canwell arbitrarily restricted the functioning of attorneys for the witnesses when he stated:

> "I want it understood that the position of counsel is strictly in an advisory capacity; they may freely advise their clients whether or not to answer; they may not argue before this hearing. We are not going to debate any of the issues regarding the constitutionality of this Committee, or its methods of procedure."(Countryman, 1952)

Attorneys for the accused were repeatedly refused the right to cross-examine hostile witnesses. Furthermore, a number of accused persons refused to answer questions concerning Communist party membership. When they, or their lawyers, attempted to state their objections to such questions, they were either cut off or asked to leave the room(Countryman, 1952). Subsequently, five such people were convicted of contempt(Countryman, 1952).

The nature of the questioning of hostile witnesses was superficial and biased. It reflected an attitude on the part of the committee that it had already made up its mind. For example, Vern Countryman, in summarizing the testimony, came to the following conclusions:

> When a witness testified that some person was a member of the Communist Party or a "fellow traveler," that some organization was a "Communist front" or "Communist-dominated," he was not asked to explain what he meant or to disclose the basis for his statement. Obviously, that statement was all the committee wanted -- interrogation of the witness then went on to other individuals and other organizations(Countryman, 1952).

In fact, the witnesses' testimony as to what was "communist" and what wasn't was based upon opinion, and not fact. Furthermore, a star witness for the committee, George Hewitt, was later shown to have perjured himself. This conclusion was reached by State Attorney General Smith Troy, and it was based upon verifiable evidence(Chamberlain, 1952).

It has been shown that the committee engaged not in an investigation, but rather in red-baiting and anti-communist witch-hunting. Yet despite its shortcomings and blatant biases, the committee had quite an impact. The University of Washington, subsequent to the hearings, fired Ted Astley and professors Herbert Phillips, Joseph Butterworth, and Ralph Gundlach(Countryman, 1952). Three other professors, Eby, Ethel and Jacobs, "were required to sign affadavits disclaiming Communist Party membership and were placed on probation for two years." (Countryman, 1952).

What do these legislative committees and laws demonstrate? For one, they show that anti-communism is endemic to our capitalist system, and that it persists over time. Also, they support the point that anti-communism provides a blanket defense of the status quo. The periods surrounding World War 1, the Depression, and the Cold War had their corresponding anti-communist legislative efforts. These efforts were aimed not only at Communists, but at any group interested in effecting change harmful to capitalist class interests. Finally, this legislative anti-communism supports another point made in this paper: the "marketplace-of-ideas," whether applied to the society at large or to the university, has consistently excluded communists. We have seen that people, communist or not, whose ideas and actions are a threat to capitalist society, are systematically harassed, fired and even jailed. That communists and socialists are constantly exposed to such actions testifies to the power of their analysis and critique of capitalism. It is these ideas, and their threat to capitalist hegemony, which cannot be tolerated when capitalism is troubled (the problem, of course, does not disappear in "normal" times). Justice Hugo Black's dissent in the case of the conviction (under the Smith Act) of the 11 communists brought the problem into relief:

> "I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is, and what it is not. These petitioners (defendants) were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date..."(Boyer and Morais, 1955)

As we will see, the attitudes represented by these committees and laws were not confined to "American leaders" or to the "right." In fact, they pervaded every nook and cranny of the academic community as well. We should therefore begin at the beginning...Sidney Hook's "Academic Freedom and 'The Trojan Horse' in American Education."

Clarence Karier has observed "that one cannot deal with the liberal position on academic freedom as it developed over the past four decades in America without coming to grips with Hook's position."(Karier, 1975) Certainly, Hook's 1939 "Trojan Horse" article was a landmark. As Karier further pointed out, "(t)he arguments which Hook began to develop in this essay on the eve of World War 2 eventually became standard arguments that he and other liberals used throughout the post-World War 2 Cold War period."(Karier, 1975) What, in fact, were the elements of this article? Early on, Hook made the point that both Germany and Russia were "totalitarian" societies. This, as was pointed out by Williams, was to become the "fundamental cliché" of the postwar American position. Hook accuses the members of such "totalitarian groups" as "masquerading under dishonest disguises." He says they are attempting to undermine the government by "conspiracy." This, for Hook, is the important point: Open and honest espousal of even unpopular opinions ("heresy," as he would later call it) is acceptable; secret conspiracies are not. The latter, by virtue of their undemocratic mode of procedure, are not deserving of democratic protections.

Hook subsequently analyzes what he considers to be the "home-grown" threats to academic freedom: "narrow-minded legislatures and business-minded boards of trustees which have attempted to restrict or control the content of instruction by the teaching staffs of colleges and universities."(Hook, 1939) He implied that such bodies were not capable of judging an academic's competence. This job, presumably, was for other academics.

A final, and very significant, point made by Hook in this article was that communists were not qualified to teach because they didn't adhere to the critical, scientific method. Rather, they were conspirators, committed to being agents of a totalitarian power. As Hook summed it up:

> A glance at the state to which German (and Russian) universities have been reduced is sufficient to show what the outcome of a party line in education is. A totalitarian may make an efficient government agent: he cannot be an honest teacher or scholar. By appealing to, and indoctrinating for, a party dogma from which there is no appeal, he betrays the critical method. Without critical method people may be trained; they can not be educated(Hook, 1939).

What should be done with these totalitarian academics? "The solution, he argued, was not to be found in government repression, but rather by '...public exposure and criticism in the educational and cultural professions themselves.'"(Karier, 1975)

Hook later refined these arguments and elaborated upon the important points. Heresy, Yes - Conspiracy, No, published in 1953, provides the most systematic explanation of Hook's refined positions. In this work, he criticizes, as did the CCF and the AOCF, the "extremist groups" in the society:

The aberrations in official American policy have contributed in

> different ways to strengthening the influence of the two groups distinguished above and whom I have characterized respectively as "cultural vigilantes" and "ritualistic liberals"...The second group has prevented the emergence of a unified liberal movement which can contain reaction at home and give leadership to the struggle against communism abroad. (Hook, 1953).

The essence of Hook's criticism of these groups was that they didn't see or understand the distinction between "heresy" and "conspiracy." He defined them as follows:

> A heresy is a set of unpopular ideas or opinions on matters of grave concern to the community. The right to profess publicly a heresy of any character, on any theme, is an essential element of a liberal society...
>
> A conspiracy, as distinct from a heresy, is a secret or underground movement which seeks to attain its ends not by normal political or educational processes but by playing outside the rules of the game. Because it undermines the conditions which are required in order that doctrines may freely compete for acceptance, because where successful it ruthlessly destroys all heretics and dissenters, a conspiracy cannot be tolerated without self-stultification in a liberal society(Hook, 1953).

The "ritualistic liberals," as Hook called them, did not understand this distinction. He said that they considered the communist conspiracy as "comparatively insignificant," or "as an unpleasant heresy just a little worse than a crotchety theory of disease or finance."(Hook, 1953)

The "cultural vigilantes," on the other hand, also confused the distinction between heresy and conspiracy. Hook had little patience with the method of these people, the

> ...frightened reactionaries who cannot distinguish between heresy and conspiracy, and identify communism with any decent thing they wish to destroy. By making reckless charges of conspiracy where there is only honest heresy, they prevent intelligent choice. And by labelling all progressive ideas as Communist heresies, they help Communist strategy. For the Communist strategy is to make it appear that Communists are an integral part of the indigenous progressive movement, instead of a cancerous growth upon it, and that any legitimate measures directed against them is actually an attack upon all progressives, and indeed upon the philosophy of liberalism itself(Hook, 1953).

Hook's dispute with the "cultural vigilantes" was less to do with their goals as with their means.

Generally speaking, Hook felt that both the "ritualistic liberals" and the "cultural vigilantes," each in their own way, threatened the "free marketplace of ideas." The marketplace conception had two presuppositions for Hook: 1) "the belief 'in the free trade of ideas--that the test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market.'"(Hook, 1953): and 2) "the competition will be honestly and openly conducted."(Hook, 1953) The "cultural vigilantes" violated the first criterion of the marketplace in that they proscribed many heresies. Heresies had to be protected in the "free trade of ideas." The liberals, on the other hand, violated the second criterion. They allowed for and protected communists in the marketplace who were, said Hook, neither open nor honest. They were, according to him, conspirators, and therefore undeserving of access to the market. So, we have a "free" marketplace-of-ideas which excludes party Communists! This sounds familiar, does it not? We should examine these ideas further in the context of academic freedom. This will demonstrate the specific rationale for excluding communists from the academic marketplace.

Sidney Hook's conception of academic freedom rests in large part upon his views of academic responsibility. This had a number of constituent elements; one of which was the scholar's or academic's committment to the scientific method:

> The defence of academic freedom for even the extremest kind of heresy by those who have been certified as competent by their professional peers or betters rests on the assumption that the teacher's primary loyalty is to the ethics and logic of reasoned inquiry or to those processes which constitute intellectual freedom. In consequence, any doctrinal impositions or organizational controls which dictate what he should do in the classroom or lay down doctrinal limits beyond which he cannot go in investigation, affect him both as a scholar and as a citizen(H6ok, 1953).

Additional responsibilities seen by Hook as being incumbent upon academics are: 1) "responsibility to help their students to mature intellectually and emotionally,"(Hook, 1953) and 2) "responsibility to the democratic community to develop free men..."(Hook, 1953) Hook was unequivocal in his belief that Communist Party members violated all of these responsibilities or trusts. Clarence Karier has provided a succinct summary of Hook's position on this point:

> Hook then turned to the problem of the Communist party member and asked if that professor who knowingly belonged to the party is capable of carrying out his duties as a free, inquiring agent. The answer, from Hook's point of view, was no. He urged the reader to look to the directives of the party and the actual behavior of known Communists within academia. There are, he insisted, no "sleeper or passive members of the party" because party members are required to take a pledge which commits them to the "Leninist" line of the party. They are also under explicit party directive, he asserted, to inject into every class the teachings of Marx and Lenin. They are further directed to redirect rebellious spirit of youth against the capitalist system with as little exposure to their own position as possible. This directive, Hook concluded, violated the requirement of free, open and honest inquiry. The party, he argued, requires discipline of all its members. Deviation or reflective thought are not permitted. When the party shifts, the party member is required to shift with it, if he wants to remain within the party(Karier, 1975).

Because these violations of public trust and responsibility were inherent in party membership, Hook felt "that the very act of belonging to the party was a violation of academic freedom."(Karier, 1975) He anticipated the charge that this was guilt-by-association. Besides the association being incriminating in its own right, he pointed out the inadequacy of other methods of evaluation. One could not send monitors into the teacher's classroom to see if he or she was propagandizing. This would be both an abridgement of the teacher's freedom and ineffective(Karier, 1975). A teacher who might propagandize normally could simply not do so when being observed. And, "'It would be very difficult to determine when a teacher was defending a conclusion because he honestly believed it followed from the evidence and when he was carrying out his task as a good soldier in the party cause.'"(Karier, 1975) Secondly, Hook said that students were inappropriate informers in this regard. Over and above the police state nature of this tactic, there was the problem that the teacher might be so "skillful" at propagandizing, that the students wouldn't detect him(Hook, 1953). Also, even if some students testified against such a teacher, communist students could be persuaded to testify in his favor. Consequently, Hook says that judging teachers on the basis of "overt acts" is not practical. Communist party membership by definition, according to Hook, disqualified one as a teacher.

This position put forth by Hook was also advocated by the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, of which Hook was a member. A subcommittee of this larger organization, dealing with academic freedom, came to the same conclusions as Hook. He was a member of this subcommittee as well:

> The American Committee's official position on academic freedom started from the same premise. "A member of the Communist party has transgressed the canons of academic responsibility, has engaged his intellect to servility, and is therefore professionally disqualified from performing his functions as scholar and teacher." The Committee on Academic Freedom (Counts, Hook, Arthur O. Lovejoy, and Paul R. Hays) characteristically went on to argue that the matter of Communists should be left "in the hands of the colleges, and their faculties." "There is no justification for a Congressional committee to concern itself with the question." Academic freedom meant self-determination for the academic community(Lasch, 1968).

Both Christopher Lasch and Clarence Karier point out that this last point--academic self-determination--was basically elitist. Karier indicated that "Hook complained about 'cultural vigilantism,' not because there was anything wrong with employing the principle of guilt by association, but because the wrong people were exercising the principle. Hook argued that it was the expert, the professional, who should control the searchlight. In the hands of the professionally uninitiated, like Senator McCarthy, considerable damage might be done to the anti-Communist cause."(Karier, 1975) Lasch carried this point a step further and tied it in to Hook's conception of the role of the intellectual. Like Dewey, Hook saw the intellectual as an expert who would help find "technical solutions to political problems." It seems that for Hook, and these other Cold War liberals, communism was not such a solution. Rather, the solution should fall within the parameters of "capitalist democracy." Lasch pointed out another of the conservative implications of Hook's position:

> By defining the issue as "cultural vigilantism," the anti-communist intellectuals lent themselves to the dominant drive of the modern state -- not only to eliminate the private use of violence (vigilantism) but, finally, to discredit all criticism which does not come from officially recognized experts(Lasch, 1968).

Before we get to the criticisms to be made of Hook's position, we should demonstrate the impact of the ideas he developed.

The ideas that Hook popularized and systematically developed were not without their effect on the educational community. Clarence Karier pointed out that "by mid-century, Hook, along with others, had persuaded the Educational Policies Commission, the National Educational Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the Association of American University Presidents that membership in the party should constitute prima facie evidence for dismissal from teaching."(Karier, 1975) Paul Violas provides some of the specific evidence concerning the anti-communist actions taken by these organizations. For example, the N.E.A. Academic Freedom Committee reported in 1941 that "'any suspicion, therefore, that the teacher is externally controlled or otherwise unduly influenced in reaching his opinions or in expressing them honestly must call into question his intellectual integrity in all whom he influences.'"(Violas, 1971) Subsequently, the N.E.A. National Convention confirmed the concept of guilt-by-association:

> "The N.E.A. is opposed to the employment in any school, college or university, of any person who advocates or who is a member of any organization that advocates changing the form of government of the United States in any means not provided for under the federal constitution."(Violas, 1971)

The American Federation of Teachers also revealed its anti-communism, in both action and resolution:

> The American Federation of Teachers under the direction of its President George S. Counts, took similar action in its 1941 Convention. After revoking the charters of three of its local unions, No. 5, No. 192, and No. 537, for Communist domination, the convention amended its constitution to exclude from membership an "applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist."(Violas, 1971)

These sorts of positions were not just imposed upon the membership. It seems that there was indeed an anti-communist foundation on which to build. Even the journal of the AAUP--which did not approve of guilt-by-association--is full of anti-communist articles by professors from 1948 on. Yet the AAUP as a whole did oppose guilt-by-association. Therefore, we should look at their position more closely. It will allow us to see the extent and the implications of the liberal defense of academic freedom in this period.

The report of Committee A on academic freedom and tenure for 1947 presented the official AAUP position on guilt-by-association. This committee stated that a professor's guilt on being "professionally unfit" hinged upon "overt acts" or "evidence"...not association:

> The principle that guilt is personal, that it does not arise from association, that it cannot be attributed to the holding of an opinion or even to intent in the absence of an overt act is fundamental in Anglo-American jurisprudence. If a teacher as an individual should advocate the forcible overthrow of the government or should incite others to do so; if he should use his class as a forum for communism or otherwise abuse his relationship with his students for that purpose; if his thinking should show more than normal bias or be so uncritical as to evidence professional unfitness, these are the charges that should be brought against him. If these charges should be established by evidence adduced at a hearing, the teacher should be dismissed because of his acts of disloyalty or because of professional unfitness, and not because he is a Communist. So long as the Communist party in the United States is a legal party, affiliation with that party in and of itself should not be regarded as a justifiable reason for exclusion from the academic profession (AAUP, 1948).

This was a fairly progressive position, relative to others taken in the educational field (such as by the AFT or NEA). Their reason for taking this stand, according to their report, was one of self-preservation. "Discrimination against Communists would readily lead to discrimination against teachers with other unorthodox political views, and the exclusion of such teachers would mean the exclusion of some of the liveliest intellects and most stimulating personalities on our campuses. Furthermore, the acceptance of political discrimination might well be the wolf's paw in the door; such discrimination might presently extend to other types of heterodoxy."(AAUP, 1948) Robert Maynard Hutchins provided a further rationale for this liberal position which the AAUP would officially adopt in 1949. His point was that there weren't really many Communists on campus, so political suppression wasn't necessary:

> The assumption appears to be that American education is full of Reds, an assumption that is the precise reverse of the truth. All the excitement of the last few years, all the hearings, investigations, and publicity releases have not turned up more than four or five Communist professors, even though membership in the Party has been perfectly legal up to now...It has never been shown that there are so many spies or traitors in this country, or that the external danger is so great and imminent that we have to divert the entire attention of our people into one great repressive preoccupation, into one great counterrevolution in which the freedoms of our citizens must be thrown overboard as too burdensome for the floundering ship of state to carry(Hutchins, 1949).

The AAUP Committee A discussion of this point was virtually the same. They stated that since Communist party members in the U.S. were so few, and since the universities were in such good hands, communists were not, nor were they "likely to be...a present danger."(AAUP, 1950)

Such was the nature of the liberal academic defense of academic freedom. It was progressive to a point, especially in light of Sidney Hook's position. Yet even at that, there are grounds for not feeling secure with such a defense. One can see that the AAUP did not defend communists and fight guilt-by-association because they believed that the communist perspective was a valuable member of the marketplace-of-ideas. Quite the contrary. These defenses of liberal academic freedom, as well as contemporaneous articles in the _AAUP Bulletin_, were rabidly anti-communist. Communism was equated with totalitarianism (this, of course, is much like Hook's position). Why, then, the defense? Simply, it was expedient. The liberals were afraid of the _extremism_ of many of the official, governmental anti-communists..._not their anti-communism_. Consequently, a firm stand had to be taken to keep the anti-communist "wolf" from the door. Otherwise, some well-meaning heterodoxical liberals might get fired. This could be the basis for their divergence from Hook on the question of guilt-by-association. Although Hook called for an in-house, academically run purging of communists, he may have underestimated political reality. That is, the "cultural vigilantes" he criticized _did have political power_. They were to be feared, as the AAUP apparently realized. Consequently, conceding that communists were guilty by association or by definition, and not by act, was a justification for vigilantism.

In any event, the AAUP's defense of academic freedom in this period was not a strong one. For example, they stated that

> So long as the Communist party in the United States is a legal political party, affiliation with that party in and of itself should not be regarded as a justifiable reason for exclusion from the academic profession(AAUP, 1948).

This, of course, leaves open the very real possibility that Communist party membership could be declared illegal. Then, it would be quite proper to exclude communists from academia. But what of the marketplace-of-ideas, upon which our democratic education rests (or so say the liberals)? The AAUP did not see fit to treat this possibility. We can only conclude, therefore, that since legal rights take precedence, the communists' right to the marketplace-of-ideas could be sacrificed.

An additional liberal argument in defense of academic freedom for communists was that there weren't many communists to worry about. Consequently, there was no need for political oppression. This, too, is a curious defense. It poses the same difficulty as our "legality" question. What if there were a lot of communists? What if their numbers did constitute them, as the AAUP would say, as a "present danger?" Does this mean that communists could then be suppressed, fired, etc.? This possibility was similarly left undiscussed by the AAUP.

What seems apparent at this point is that the AAUP made no principled stand against guilt-by-association and for a communist's academic freedom. Rather, their defense was made on a purely pragmatic, expedient and contingent basis. There was no principled defense of the need for the marketplace to include communists. Communists were then, as they had been historically, peripheral to the functioning of the bourgeois marketplace-of-ideas. Even statements in support of communists' academic freedom were double-edged. Though they opposed guilt-by-association, they countered with the explicit point that communists would have to be caught in the act. That is, the AAUP implied that they, too, felt the communists weren't trustworthy. However, one would have to "get the goods on them." This attitude certainly would contribute to promoting fear and intimidation in the university. These could effectively inhibit or restrict freedom, as C. Wright Mills pointed out:

> Yet the deepest problem of freedom for teachers is not the occasional ousting of a professor, but a vague general fear--sometimes politely known as "disrection," "good taste," or "balanced judgement." It is a fear which leads to self-intimidation and finally becomes so habitual that the scholar is unaware of it. The real restraints are not so much external prohibitions as control of the insurgent by agreements by academic gentlemen(Mills, 1945).

The AAUP might as well have told communists "You're free, but we're going to keep our eye on you." A good example of this was provided by the AAUP in 1956, when it published "Academic Freedom and Tenure in the Quest for National Security." In this document, the AAUP sounded the alarm of vigilance against "communist subversion" in education:

> The administrations and colleges and universities should, of course, take note of indications of the possible unfitness of faculty members. If a faculty member invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communism, or if there are other indications of past or present Communist associations or activities, his institution cannot ignore the possible significance for itself of these matters. There is then a possibility of his involvement in activities subversive of education itself, or otherwise indicative, to an important degree, of his unfitness to teach("Academic Freedom and Tenure in the Quest for National Security," 1956).

The statement went on to say that refusal to cooperate with an institution on such matters, if it "appears to be" based on evasiveness rather than principle, can "be a weighty adverse factor." So while Hook would fire a professor for invoking the Fifth Amendment, a constitutional right, the AAUP would sanction an investigation for possible "unfitness."

In terms of strategy, we can see that the AAUP differed somewhat from Sidney Hook. However, their defense of communists was weak. At base, these liberals had much in common with Hook's position. Both groups assumed that communists were totalitarians and, most importantly, not objective. This assumption really is the key, fundamental idea underlying all of the liberal anti-communism in this period in adademia. Since Sidney Hook was the foremost proponent on this position, we should now criticize his perspective. By doing this, we will effectively combat all the liberal positions.

The essence of Hook's key point, as was mentioned earlier, was that Communist Party members were agents for a foreign power, and committed to following the dictates of the Communist party line. It was in their subservience to party doctrine, and not to the scientific quest for truth, that they forfeited their rights as scholars:

> What is relevant is that their conclusions are not reached by free inquiry into the evidence. To remain in the Communist Party, they must believe and teach what the party line decrees(Hook, 1953).

There are a number of difficulties with this argument and its assumptions. First of all, there is no basis, nor does Hook provide any documentation, for the assertion that members of the C.P.U.S.A. are foreign agents. That they were adherents to a Marxist-Leninist perspective we would not dispute. Nor would we dispute their sympathetic consideration of the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, there is no support for the "foreign agent" argument. It is, as Hook would say, a "red herring." Eugene Dennis, one of the 11 communists prosecuted under the Smith Act, addressed this very question in an article he wrote in 1947. He rooted American communism in its historical "antecedents" and in contemporary problems:

> Anyone who is not historically illiterate knows that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is an American political party. It is a working-class political party which was born of American common people and whose ultimate objective is socialism. In its antecedents it existed in the United States before the American Civil War and played a patriotic and heroic part in that conflict, as recognized by President Lincoln.
>
> Further, the Communist Party is an independent organization making its own decisions, according to its own understanding, to promote the welfare and purposes of our own country and people. And now, as always, the Communist Party owes its first and only allegiance to the sovereign

power that resides in the American people(Dennis, 1947).

The editors of Monthly Review also supported the point made by Dennis. Furthermore, they pointed to communism's "world-wide" character and its opposition to exploitation:

> Communism is a world-wide movement with literally hundreds of millions of followers; it is based on a rational and humane theory of nature and society; its ultimate aims are the abolition of exploitation and the creation of a society in which "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be a reality. There are bound to be Communists in the United States as well as in every other country in the world; it is absurd, and in the long-run is certain to be self-defeating, to treat them as conspirators and foreign agents(Monthly Review, 1949).

Sidney Hook would have us believe that it is inconceivable that communism could develop on American soil. He conveniently forgot such events as the Depression, and the suffering it brought about. Had he considered this and other failures of capitalism, and had he not been so blinded by his anti-communism, he might have seen the hypocrisy of his position. That he didn't, reflects the degree to which Hook, as Lasch pointed out, was in the service of the modern state and bureaucratic power. In this case, these are but euphemisms for corporate capitalism.

Another important point made by Hook was that Communist Party members were subject to following the party line. In the case of party academics, it meant they had to follow party dictates instead of scientific method and honest inquiry. Or, as President Day of Cornel said:

> The faculty of any college should be made up of free, honest, competent, inquiring minds, seeking to find and disseminate truth. The mind of a member of the Communist Party is enslaved to the party line. It cannot possibly claim to be either free or honest. It is manifestly disqualified for membership in a faculty of higher learning in a free and freedom-loving society such as ours(Monthly Review, 1949).

Is this so? Alexander Meikeljohn and the editors of Monthly Review refuted this point in convincing fashion. In the article "Academic Freedom in the Colleges," the editors pointed out "that no one is obliged to join the Communist Party or to remain a member if he does join it. There are no material rewards or emoluments connected with membership--quite the contrary. Under these circumstances it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that people join the Communist Party because, on the whole, they accept its doctrines and policies. (It is necessary to stipulate "on the whole," because any one who has ever really known Communists--as distinct from reading about them in the papers--knows that many of them, especially in the academic world, are frequently highly critical of one aspect or another of the party's work.)"(Monthly Review, 1949) The editors go on to quote Meikeljohn, who said

> For purposes of social action, they have chosen party affiliation with other men, here and abroad, whose beliefs are akin to their own. In a word, they do not accept Communist beliefs because they are members of the party. They are members of the party because they accept Communist beliefs(Meikeljohn, 1949).

These particular critiques, the most devastating to Hook's contention, were never refuted. He did try to counter other points made by Meikeljohn...but not these.

Sidney Hook made the assertion, very early, that Communism was a conspiracy, and that it operated secretly and undemocratically. In support of this point, Hook presented selected quotes from Lenin, William Foster, and the C.P.U.S.A. which demonstrated, he alleged, conspiratorial methods. Yet Herbert Aptheker subjected Hook's assertion, and his scholarship, to the most devastating criticism on this point. Aptheker pointed out that, in fact, Hook quoted out of context and incorrectly in order to make his point. For example, Aptheker, in an open letter to Hook, pointed out the following "scholarly" fraud:

> Thus, to show what horrendous creatures we Communists are you quote Lenin this way: "It is necessary to agree to any and every sacrifice and even--if need be--resort to all sorts of strategems, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges..." And you cite his Selected Works, Vol.X, p. 95. The words you quoted actually read, and I italicize what you carelessly omitted: "It is necessary to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even--if need be--to resort to all sorts of strategems, manoeuvers, and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges..." Why omit the four words, Professor? Because if they are included, the reader will ask: What does Lenin mean--"to withstand all this?" The reader will want

> to know what preceeded these words, and what followed these words...
>
> Let the reader do that and what does he find? What is it that is to be withstood? Why, the pressure of the bosses who will fight "to prevent Communists from getting into the trade unions" and will, in the course of this use "the police and the courts," and will "insult, bait and persecute them." This is what is to be withstood(Aptheker, 1955).

This was Sidney Hook's case for "conspiracy." It was based upon dishonest scholarship, as Aptheker pointed out. In fact, there were many other examples that Aptheker. All in all, one would have to conclude, as Aptheker did, that it was Hook, not the communists, who was incapable of "conveying truth." As Lasch pointed out, Hook was supportive of the capitalist state. The connections between the CIA and these intellectual anti-communists made explicit that which was implicit in their arguments: Hook and the others were servants of power.

What, in fact, is the Communist position on conspiracy? Herbert Aptheker, drawing upon a number of sources, makes the case:

> Communism is not a conspiracy and Communists are not conspirators. From Engel's Principles of Communism, written in 1847, where one reads: "Communists know only too well that all conspiracies are not only useless but even harmful," to Lenin's Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats, written fifty years later, where Lenin said of himself and his comrades: "They do not believe in comspiracies; they think that the period of conspiracies has long passed away"...to Dimitrov's denial of the same slander at the Reichstag trial, to Dennis' denial at the first Foley Square Trial, to the denial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her fellow-defendants today at the second Foley Square trial, Communists have always opposed conspiracy(Aptheker, 1955).

The thesis of "communist conspiracy" does not hold water; both the documentary evidence and the historically proven action of communists show otherwise.

The total hypocrisy of Hook's case can be seen by pushing it to its logical extreme. His marketplace-of-ideas allowed for heretics (who "freely" reached their controversial positions), but not conspirators. Yet what if an individual teacher freely came to believe that joining the Communist Party was what he or she should do? What would our Mr. Hook say to that? Simply, Mr. Hook--our guardian of the marketplace-of-ideas--would say "Fire the scoundrel!" It seems that Mr. Hook's marketplace-of-ideas is no better than the previous corporate-liberal marketplaces...and just as anti-communist. As Alexander Meikeljohn put it:

> Every scholar, every teacher, is officially notified that if, in his search for the truth, he finds the policies of the American Communist Party to be wise, and acts on that belief, he will be dismissed(Meikeljohn, 1949).

Sidney Hook would protect heretics and heresies, so long as the heresy wasn't communism and the heretic wasn't a party member. Such are the endemic deficiencies of the corporate-liberal marketplace-of-ideas.

The example of Sidney Hook and the Cold War anti-communism is very significant for many reasons. It highlights the consistent thread of anti-communism which has persisted in bourgeois and, more specifically, corporate-liberal ideology. The corporate-liberal academics during the first World War and the Depression served the state and helped stabilize capitalism. This shows how corporate-liberal ideology itself can close out the honest, open search for truth. Christopher Lasch summed up the manner in which this criticism applied to the Cold War intellectuals and their service to the state:

> The Cold War intellectuals revealed themselves as the servants of bureaucratic power; and it was not altogether surprising, years later, to find that the relation of intellectuals to power was even closer than it had seemed at the time. They had achieved both autonomy and affluence, as the social value of their services became apparent to the government, to corporations, and to the foundations. Professional intellectuals had become indispensable to society and to the state (in ways which neither the intellectuals nor the state always perceived), partly because of the increasing importance of education--especially the need for experts--and partly because the Cold War seemed to demand that the United States compete with communism in the cultural sphere as well as in every other. The modern state, among other things, is an engine of propaganda, alternately manufacturing crises and claiming to be the only instrument which can effectively deal with them. This propaganda, in order to be successful, demands the cooperation of writers, teachers, and artists not as paid propagandists or state-censored time-servers but as "free" intellectuals capable of policing their own jurisdictions and enforcing acceptable standards of responsibility within the various intellectual professions(Lasch, 1968).

The Cold War anti-communists, of which Hook was a prominent member, helped stabilize corporate capitalism in the face of the international and domestic problems discussed earlier. The similarities between the liberalism of this period and earlier periods was not overlooked by Clarence Karier. "The pragmatic liberal philosophy of Dewey and Hook operationalized within a bureaucratic structure, in effect, turned every moral question into a tactical survival problem. Pragmatism, as a philosophy, was admirably suited to facilitating a growing bureaucratic technological state, but tragically ill-suited to address the great moral issues which required limitations on power."(Karier, 1975)

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THE FINNISH CONTRIBUTION
TO THE
AMERICAN WORKERS' EDUCATION MOVEMENT

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Introduction

At the turn of the century, workers' education represented a worldwide experience. However, British experiments, such as Ruskin College (1899), the Workers' Education Association (1903), and the National Council of Labor Colleges (1921), have often been regarded by writers and scholars of workers' education as the precursors to the American workers' education movement.[1] Was this the only major influence on workers' education in the United States? Put another way, how did other foreign groups participate in the development of workers' education in America?

This historical study will examine Work Peoples' College, which was created by Finnish immigrants in Minnesota, and analyze its contribution to the American labor college movement. This task will be accomplished, first, by exploring workers' education in Finland during the early years of the twentieth century in order to establish the workers' education heritage of the Finns. Second, the background, purposes, programs, achievements, and outcomes of Work Peoples' College will be described. And, third, Work Peoples' College will be compared and contrasted with two well known American labor colleges, Brookwood Labor College and Commonwealth Labor College, to determine the significance, if any, of the Finnish contribution to the American workers' education experience.

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[1] Marius Hansome, World Workers' Educational Movements: Their Social Significance (1931; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1968), p. 492; Dagmar Schultz, "The Changing Political Nature of Workers' Education: A Case Study of the Wisconsin School for Workers," Diss. University of Wisconsin 1972, p. 16; Frank Adams, Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair Publishing, 1975), p. 15.

Workers' Education in Finland

Workers' education began in Finland in 1899--the same year as the creation of Ruskin College in England--with the development of the Workers' Institute. Organized by the Finnish labor movement, the school functioned "to spread intellectual and moral enlightenment among the broad masses."[2] Although founded to benefit the Finnish working class, the Institute eschewed radical political ideology by serving broad educational goals.[3] Nevertheless, the Institute achieved considerable success and by the late 1920's some forty Institutes existed throughout the urban centers of Finland. Helsinki claimed the largest enrollment with 6,000 members.[4] Held in the evening, classes included courses in "the social sciences, public speaking, practical writing and arithmetic, the history and language of Finland."[5]

In 1919, the Workers' Educational Federation was created to disseminate "social education among the masses by means of study circles, lecture courses, libraries," and correspondence courses. The WEF received widespread, popular support from eighteen national organizations, such as the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Federation of Finland, with a total of 430,000 members.[6] Moreover, by 1928, the WEF claimed 342 study circles which served 4,462 students in the rural regions

[2] Quoted in Hansome, p. 364.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 366.

[5] Ibid., p. 365.

[6] Ibid., p. 367.

of Finland.[7] The course offerings of the WEF closely paralleled those of the Workers' Institute, but the WEF also provided a course in the history of socialism. Thus, unlike the Institute, the WEF did not exclude radical ideology from its curriculum.

The Workers' Academy, a residential high school for labor students, developed in 1924 near Helsinki. With more specific and radical goals than the Workers' Institute and the WEF, the Academy aimed "to equip intellectually active worker students for responsible offices in the important workers' movements--the trade unions, the socialist party, the cooperatives, the workers' education movement, and, for governmental and public functions."[8] The students, generally in their twenties, came exclusively from working-class families. The Academy's program offered four divisions: Social-Political Sciences; Natural Sciences; Humanistic Studies; and, Practical Subjects. The Social-Political Sciences track included labor legislation, trade unionism, the Finnish labor movement, and political economy as courses while the Practical Subjects contained the Finnish language, public speaking, and bookkeeping.[9]

Overall, workers' education in Finland was diverse and successful. On the one hand, the Workers' Institute and the WEF fostered educational goals with a broad program and, thereby, fulfilled the intellectual needs of urban and rural Finns. The Workers' Academy, on the other hand, adhered to social aims and trained working-class students to avail themselves to the social and political needs of the Finnish working class.

[7] Ibid., p. 368.

[8] Ibid., p. 370.

[9] Ibid., pp. 371-72.

Therefore, workers' education represented a broad heritage that many Finns brought to America.

Work Peoples' College

Although Finns settled in the United States as early as the colonial era, Finnish migration remained low until the Russian army began to draft Finns in 1900. For example, while only 3,500 Finns emigrated to America in 1898, over 23,000 fled Finland in 1902.[10] "These refugees, draft resistors among them, included liberals as well as socialists, intellectuals as well as workers."[11] Russian suppression of the 1905 general strike in Finland, which protested Russian rule, and the 1906 Viapori rebellion caused a second wave of Finnish radicals to escape to the United States. "They represented the 'new left' in European socialism: the post-1905 radicalism that had little confidence in the electoral process and none in winning socialism through gradual reform. They brought to American and into the Finnish American socialist movement a conviction that only some form of workers' revolutionary action, and not socialist politics alone, could establish socialism."[12] Leo Laukki and Yrjo Sirola, pursued by the Czarist police because of their respective participation in the Viapori uprising and general strike,[13] were among this group of militant Finns who immediately became involved in American radical movements as well as workers' education. For the Finnish immigrants, then, "socialism was . . . a child of the Old Country. Both its content and its leadership came from Finland."[14]

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[10] Carl Ross, The Finn Factor in American Labor, Culture and Society (New York Mills, Minnesota: Parta Printers, 1977), p. 48.

[11] Ibid., p. 49.

[12] Ibid., p. 53.

[13] Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., "From Socialism to Industrial Unionism (IWW): Social Factors in the Emergence of Left-Labor Radicalism Among Finnish Workers on the Mesabi, 1911-19," The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives, ed. Michael G. Karni et al., (Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1975), p. 161. Arthur E. Puotinen, "Early Labor Organizations in the Copper Country," For the Common Good: Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America, ed. Michael G. Karni et al., (Superior, Wisconsin: Tyomies Society, 1977), p. 146.

Thus, when the Finns encountered low pay, long hours, irregular employment, and dangerous job conditions in the mining regions of the midwest and an ineffectual American Federation of Labor which barred unskilled, immigrant workers from membership, they created the Finnish Socialist Federation which "became the American Socialist Party's first foreign-language federation."[15] In fact, the Finnish Socialist Federation symbolized the model for some twenty other language federations within the Socialist Party by becoming the largest and most powerful group.[16] In 1906, the Finnish language federation claimed twenty-nine local chapters with 2,450 members, and by 1912 this total had increased to 225 locals and 11,000 members. "At that date, the organization included four newspapers, the Work Peoples' College with 123 students, seventy-six club houses, eighty libraries, and a combined income of $184,128.83, coupled with an overall valuation of $558,201.14."[17] Indeed, the radical Finns not only represented a formidable force within the American socialist movement, but they also made a major impact on the American workers' education movement with the formation of Work Peoples' College in 1907.

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[14] John I. Kolehmainen, "The Inimitable Marxists: The Finnish Immigrant Socialist," Michigan History, 36 (1952), p. 399.

[15] Ibid., p. 396. For a description of the harsh working conditions of the Finns see Ross, pp. 109-11. Also, Ollila, p. 157, makes a brief comment about the relationship between the Finns and the AFL.

[16] Arne Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans in the Political Labor Movement," Masters thesis. University of Minnesota 1945, p. 51.

[17] Ollila, p. 156.

In September of 1903, The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church sponsored the founding of the Folk School--originally located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and later moved to better facilities in Duluth--in order to teach Finnish immigrants religion, Finnish culture, and nationalism.[18] The school received financial support from stocks sold to Finnish shareholders for a dollar apiece. A board of directors, consisting of lay members and church officials, controlled the secular aspects of the school while the church supervised the school's theological seminary. The clerics, who were anti-socialist, and the socialists, who were anticlerical, continually vied for absolute control over the school. Meanwhile, the majority of the students came from Finnish socialist homes.[19] The students, most of whom were in their twenties, resented the religious restrictions and courses imposed upon them by the church and, as a result, led a strike to protest the "oppressive" nature of the school in 1904.[20] The religious conflicts caused classes to be cancelled in 1905. Finally, Finnish socialists obtained a majority of the stock and assumed complete authority over the school and its board of directors.

The socialists changed the school's outlook, reorganized the program, and renamed it Work Peoples' College. Since a large percentage of the Finns had little, or no, formal education, the college's first goal con-

[18] Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., "The Work Peoples' College: Immigrant Education for Adjustment and Solidarity," For the Common Good, pp. 93-94. Hereafter referred to as WPC.

[19] Ibid., p. 94.

[20] Ibid., p. 97.

cerned itself with providing "basic educational skills, especially in the use of the English language." Second, the Finnish socialist community hoped "to develop its own internal leadership, especially editors, teachers, and agitators."[21] The curriculum, which stressed the social sciences, contained history, economics, sociology, geography, bookkeeping, history of socialism, Darwinian evolution, English, Finnish, public speaking, and journalism. The school also furnished an English correspondence course for nonresident students.[22] The socialists, therefore, promoted the social democratic ideology and cultivated "the growth of class-consciousness" in response to the "school of Morgan and Rockefeller" as the Finns "were fond of calling American capitalism."[23] Leo Laukki joined the teaching staff and later became director. With forty-two students and two instructors, the 1908 school year, for a change, proceeded smoothly. By the 1913-14 academic year, the college enrolled 157 students, employed eight instructors, and expanded its facilities into a second building.[24] Yet, this success did not prevent Work Peoples' College from experiencing another ideological shift.

In 1914, Finnish socialist experienced the same internal political turmoil and organizational fragmentation as the American Socialist Party endured in 1912. As a result, "practically all of the Minnesota Finnish Socialists resigned or were released from the Federation, and they subsequently affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World and its goal of uniting all workers into One Big Union."[25] In other words, the midwestern Finns, the radical socialists, supported the principles of "revolutionary unionism, direct action, sabotage, and the general strike" rather than parliamentary socialism as the means of ameliorating working-class problems.[26] Meanwhile, the eastern Finns, the moderate socialists, elected to remain in the Socialist Party.

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[21] Ibid., pp. 102 and 106. William Hoglund, Finnish Immigrants in America: 1880-1920 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1960), reveals that over one-third of the students who attended the school in 1913 had no formal education.

[22] Ibid., p. 102. Hansome, p. 208.

[23] Ibid. Michael G. Karni, "The Founding of the Finnish Socialist Federation and the Minnesota Strike of 1907," For the Common Good, p. 82.

[24] Ibid., pp. 102-09.

Work Peoples' College, as well, drifted leftward to industrial unionism because Leo Laukki and Yrjo Sirola, who taught at the school, strongly embraced the IWW precepts. However, with the arrest and imprisonment of Laukki in 1917, as part of the Chicago 166, the school's attendance faltered and eventually dropped to fifty-three students in 1919.[27] Laukki ultimately skipped bail when he left the United States, with Sirola, to participate in the Bolshevik takeover of Russia. When the IWW recognized Work Peoples' College in 1921 as its official school, enrollment increased to seventy students.[28]

The Work Peoples' College Announcement of Courses for the 1923-24 school year outlined its IWW ideals:

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[25] Ollila, p. 157.

[26] WPC, p. 110.

[27] William D. Haywood, Big Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1974), p. 363.

[28] WPC, p. 111.

> This school recognizes the existence of class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more efficiently carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and ultimately the realization of a new social order.[29]

Thus, the school strived for s new social order and endeavored to develop working-class leadership. These principles remained in effect for the next twenty years of the school's life.

The school fashioned its program to fulfill the IWW outlook by offering academic subjects such as the Materialistic Conception of History, with several texts by Marx and Engels; History of the Labor Movement in the United States; the Motives of Social Activity; Economic Theory; Modern Industry; Industrial Geography; Evolutionary Biology; and, Elementary and Advanced Arithmetic. Practical courses consisted of Public Speaking which prepared students to "lecture on subjects of propaganda value;" Debating involved the argument of important labor questions, such as the importance of "industrial unionism;" and, Reporting and Editing gave students firsthand experience in "writing news articles on local events, editorials and essays on important matters in the labor movement." IWW newspapers and journals often published the best student articles. Elementary and Advanced Bookkeeping prepared students to maintain the financial records of IWW locals.[30] Typing represented an important tool for potential IWW organizers because it could be used to generate leaflets or other forms of communication.[31] Spelling and English Grammar functioned as basic courses for less literate students. Work Peoples' College also attempted to develop its own instructors by instituting a teacher training program during special summer sessions held at the school.[32]

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[29] Work Peoples' College Announcement of Courses, 1923-24 (Duluth, Minnesota: Work Peoples' College, 1923), p. 2.

[30] Ibid., pp. 4-7.

[31] From a photocopy of a letter written on WPC letterhead by Fred W. Thompson, dated Dec. 1st, 1929. Obtained from the Minnesota Historical Society.

In addition, Work Peoples' College housed 200 plays and furnished a play rental service.[33] Rosa Knuuti, an instructor at the school, projected a twofold purpose for dramas: "The theatre to my mind is a means to an end. Classified as art it concerns itself in providing entertainment; as propaganda it provides something to think about."[34] For Knuuti, bourgeois plays romanticized working-class life by portraying a friendly relationship between labor and capital. In this way, entertainment served as subtle propaganda. Knuuti, however, saw the need for workers' plays which exposed the drab existence and harsh realities of working-class life. Consequently, labor dramas would supply thought provoking entertainment.[35]

Although all of the courses were elective, students followed a rigorous schedule which included twenty class hours a week. According to Clifford Ellis, another teacher at the College, the school day began at eight o'clock in the morning and continued until noon. Students spent the remainder of the day in debates or in the school library.[36] Students also influenced educational matters through recommendations made to the board of directors in the friday night business meetings.[37]

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[32] Kristen Svanum, "The Work Peoples' College: Where Industrial Unionists Are Efficiently Educated," Industrial Pioneer, 2 (1925), p. 48.

[33] Gust Aakula, "Short Sketches of the Features of Työväen Opisto, Work Peoples' College, Duluth, Minnesota." Undated and unpublished manuscript obtained from the Duluth Public Library. Gust was a former student, teacher, and secretary-treasurer of the school.

[34] Rosa A. Knuuti, "The Workers' Play," Industrial Pioneer, 3 (1925), p. 26.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Clifford B. Ellis, "What Life Means to a Worker: The Story of the Past Winter Semester at the Work Peoples' College," Industrial Pioneer, 4 (1926), 14-18.

Enrollment generally fluctuated between fifty and seventy students during the 1920's and early 1930's.[38] The students included miners from the Mesabi Range, western lumberjacks, migrant farmers, kitchenmaids, eastern textile workers, sheepherders, craftsmen, and cowboys.[39] Moreover, after its affiliation with the IWW in 1921, Work Peoples' College began to admit many non-Finnish students. This further broadened the background of the school's student body.

Thus, as early as 1907, the Finns established a viable example of workers' education in the United States and, in spite of the turmoil it experienced, the school fulfilled the educational and social needs of working-class Finns by providing a radical ideology and curriculum. Furthermore, when Work Peoples' College became formally affiliated with the IWW in 1921, it served non-Finnish students as well.

The American Labor College Movement

The public schools provided little opportunity for social mobility or education since the majority of working-class children could not attend school. A 1912 survey of children employed in factories reported that children worked, instead of attending school, in order to contribute to the economic welfare of their families. Their fathers either earned low wages; were unemployed; incapacitated; or, worse yet, dead because of a job related accident.[40] Actually, some "65 percent of the children in the common schools in 1914 dropped out by the end of the fifth or sixth grade."[41] The vocational education movement, which was heavily promoted during this period, did little to relieve this situation. In fact, this educational experience further limited social mobility for these students because when they graduated, or dropped out, they were only equiped with working-class skills; which earned them, at best, a working-class job.[42] The public schools, therefore, "did not alleviate poverty" or "significantly alter the social structure."[43]

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[37] Hansome, pp. 211-212.

[38] WPC, op. cit.

[39] Rosa Knuuti, "The Work Peoples' College," Industrial Pioneer, 1 (1921), p. 60. Ellis, p. 14.

The American Federation of Labor also inhibited social progress for the majority of workers. Formed in 1886 as a confederation of craft unions and representing the largest labor organization in the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century, the AFL only recruited skilled workers. As a result, it excluded women, blacks, and immigrants who dominated the unskilled ranks of American labor and who constituted the majority of workers.[44] In 1920, for example, scarcely nineteen percent of the 26,000,000 total wage earners could claim membership in some type of labor organization.[45] The AFL only accounted for a portion of this percentage.

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[40] Helen M. Todd, "Why Children Work: The Children's Answer," McClure's Magazine, 40 (1912), p. 69.

[41] S. Alexander Rippa, Education in a Free Society: An American History (New York: David McKay Company, 1976), p. 159.

[42] Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 121.

[43] Ibid., p. 149.

[44] Philip S. Foner, Oranized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973 (New York: International Publishers, 1976), p. 82.

Working-class frustration with formalized, institutional social mobility, i.e., public education and labor unions, generated the Socialist Party of America in 1901. According to Eugene V. Debs, the organization's foremost spokesperson, the Party stood "for abolition of the wage system . . . for the collective ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution and the operation of industry in the interest of all."[46] The Party attempted to reach its radical goals through the electoral process and it achieved considerable success in its endeavors. In the 1912 election, Debs obtained six percent of the total presidential vote. Concurrently, Party candidates controlled a record number of public offices with "some 1,200 in 340 municipalities from coast to coast, among them 79 mayors in 24 states."[47]

More importantly, many socialists became active in the American labor college movement which blossomed during the 1920's. Of course, numerous labor colleges existed, but Brookwood Labor College, founded in 1921 in Katonah, New York, and Commonwealth College, organized in 1925 near Mena, Arkansas, typified the largest, most prominent, and most durable illustrations of the labor college movement. Many subsequent examples, such as Seattle Labor College, either attempted to replicate

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[45] Leo Wolman, The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923 (1924; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 85.

[46] Eugene V. Debs, Eugene V. Debs Speaks ed. Jean Y. Tussey (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972), p. 110.

[47] James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), pp. 93-103.

Brookwood, or were actual offshoots of the school.[48] A. J. Muste of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America; James H. Maurer, Socialist President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; and, Kate Richards O'Hare, Socialist Vice-Presidential candidate in 1920 with Debs, represented the more prominent radicals responsible for the creation of Brookwood and Commonwealth.

Except for the ethnic influence of the Finns, the conditions which bred the American Labor college movement were not unlike the circumstances that produced Work Peoples' College. That is, educational deficiencies, dissatisfaction with organized labor, and social discontent generated Work Peoples' College, Brookwood Labor College, and Commonwealth College. These experiences had a direct effect on their purposes and programs. For example, the 1932-33 Brookwood Bulletin set forth the school's goals:

> Brookwood thinks of itself as a part of the labor movement of America and of the world. Brookwood thinks of the labor movement both as a practical instrument by which workers achieve higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work, and as a great social force having as its ultimate goal the good life for all men in a social order free from exploitation and based upon control by the workers . . . Brookwood frankly aims to inspire and train its students for activity in a militant labor movement.[49]

In a 1934 article, Lucien Koch, director of Commonwealth, summarized Commonwealth's goals as "educating leaders for a new society."[50] The socialist influence is evident. Like Work Peoples' College, Brookwood and Commonwealth served dual purposes in striving for the establishment of a new social order and training militant and active labor leaders.

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[48] Irving Bernstein, The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 416.

[49] Bulletin and Announcement of Courses for 1932-33 (Katonah, New York: Brookwood Labor College, 1932), p. 3.

[50] Lucien Koch, "Commonwealth College," Progressive Education, 11 (1934), p. 302. This same phrase appears on the masthead of the school's paper, The Commonwealth Fortnightly.

The labor college program, as with Work Peoples' College, clearly reflected its ideals. For resident students, Brookwood provided a one year course which consisted of American History; History of the American Labor Movement and Trade Union Organization; Foreign Labor History; Modern Industry; Advanced Economics; Labor Journalism; Public Speaking; Workers' Education; Preparation for Field Work; Labor Drama; and, Psychology.[51] The second year course was open to Brookwood students who had completed their first year of studies and regular college students interested in workers' education or "desirous of training in labor history, trade unions, etc., in a labor school."[52] Rather than a regular classroom format, the second year students met individually with instructors or participated in group conferences or seminars. For nonresident students, Brookwood offered short courses, summer sessions, extension programs, and a variety of publications. Commonwealth's three year program emphasized four major areas "grouped around workers' education, labor economics, labor journalism, or labor law."[53] In general, the ideological emphasis as well as the course offerings of Brookwood and Commonwealth closely paralleled the Work Peoples' College program. None of the schools, as well, gave degrees or grades to their students. In contrast to Work Peoples' College, however, the majority of Brookwood and Commonwealth instructors were college graduates.[54]

[51] Brookwood Bulletin, pp. 8-10.

[52] Ibid., p. 10.

[53] "Suggested Three-Year Course of Study," Commonwealth College Fortnightly, 1 December 1931, p. 3.

[54] Ibid. Hansome, p. 205.

Brookwood and Commonwealth also placed great emphasis on labor dramas. The students performed their own compositions or portrayed plays writtten by professional playwrights.[55] As Brookwood's director, A. J. Muste, explained it, workers' plays "may be a means of self expression, making the Labor Movement more vital to the workers themselves; it may interpret the Labor Movement for the public in more sympathetic and appealing terms than abstract reasoning can do; it may be a means of entertainment, particularly in isolated regions where the pool room and the blind tiger are the only means of diversion."[56] The students staged their dramas for other students at the schools, workers in union halls, and Brookwood students even managed to present a play on Broadway.[57] To be sure, Muste's views of workers' plays did not differ substantially from Rosa Knutti's perceptions at Work Peoples' College.

However, course loads and classroom methodology did vary among the schools. While Brookwood placed no restrictions on course load, its Bulletin stipulated that each student had to contribute ten hours of work a week to the school community by doing "repair work, house cleaning, dishwashing, waiting on table(s), clerical and library assistance.[58] A student work committee assigned the various work duties. Commonwealth, in contrast, limited course work to twelve hours a week while requiring twenty hours of work.[59] William Cunningham, a Commonwealth teacher, decribed a typical day at the school consisting of classroom work during the morning hours. "At one o'clock the dishwashing crew is doing the dinner things, the laundry crew has a fire built under its water heater, the wood crew is trudging toward the timber with axes and saws in hand, the carpenter srew is climbing a scaffolding, the office crew is pounding out answers to letters of inquiry from all over the world."[60] The work routine, both at Brookwood and Commonwealth, did not impede the educational process because lessons often continued while teachers and students chopped wood or washed dishes together. Moreover, the students sometimes gathered at their instructor's cottage, or room, during the evenings in order to pursue their studies.[61]

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[55] Koch, p. 301.

[56] Quoted in Helen G. Norton, "Drama At Brookwood," Labor Age, 15 (May 1926), pp. 18-19.

[57] "Students Working on Labor Projects," Commonwealth College Fortnightly, 1 November 1932, p. 1.

[58] Brookwood Bulletin, pp. 14-15.

In further contrast to Work Peoples' College, Brookwood and Commonwealth encouraged students to organize and to participate in off-campus strike activities as part of their educational experience. As a result, some Brookwood students and teachers became involved in the long and brutal Marion, North Carolina, textile strike of 1929.[62] Later, "in August 1934," a Commonwealth instructor "went to Corinth, Mississippi, with three student apprentices in a response to a telegram from an Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union official pleading for organizers."[63]

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[59] "Commonwealth Announcement: 1927-1928 Calendar," Commonwealth College Fortnightly, 1 March 1927, p. 4.

[60] William Cunningham, "Commonwealth College--An Educational Mutant," World Tomorrow, 12 (1929), p. 504.

[61] Raymond and Charlotte Koch, Educational Commune: The Story of Commonwealth College (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), p. 10. Hereafter cited as Educational Commune.

[62] Bernstein, p. 30.

[63] Educational Commune, p. 137.

Brookwood and Commonwealth students, like their counterparts at Work Peoples' College, actively participated in school affairs. Brookwood students not only elected two representatives to the school's nineteen member board of directors, but also maintained a seat on the school's executive committee and assumed responsibility for "student discipline, controlled student activities, and exercised advisory powers in educational matters."[64] Commonwealth students, after two years, became members of the Commonwealth College Association which "owned and controlled the college property."[65]

The labor college libraries were well stocked and served important roles. The Commonwealth library, for instance, contained some 8,000 volumes which included a "vast collection of labor, sociological and economic digests, texts and other works."[66] In addition, Commonwealth boasted of its "Museum of Social Change" which demonstrated the adverse relationship between capitalism and the working class through the display of "tear-gas bomgs and bloody lynch ropes, and depression clothing made of old sacking."[67]

Brookwood and Commonwealth, like Work Peoples' College, constructed their program in deference to the precepts of the schools and the background of the students. Enrollment seldom exceeded sixty students which ensured a low teacher-student ratio. Students were generally in their twenties; from families of industrial laborers, farmers or miners; and, possessed a plethora of viewpoints from different parts of the country and the world.[68] However, while Brookwood and Commonwealth accepted a variety of ethnic and racial groups, Work Peoples' College, it may be recalled, mainly catered to Finnish workers. As expected, most of the students had little formal schooling. For example, over fifty percent of the 1927 Brookwood class had only completed the eighth grade.[69]

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[64] Brookwood Bulletin, p. 15.

[65] Cunningham, op. cit.

[66] Richard Deverall, "Commonwealth College: How the Communists Run a Labor College in the Ozarks and the Lesson to be Learned From It," Commonweal, 30 (1939), pp. 9-11.

[67] "Commonwealth: New Museum Shows Collapse of Capitalism," Newsweek, 16 February 1935, 27.

Although Brookwood and Commonwealth offered a more elaborate program than Work Peoples' College, the programs for all three schools were more similar than dissimilar. The programs functioned to arouse the students' class consciousness and attempted to provide them with the tools necessary to improve the social condition of the working class. The academic subjects, dramas, strike activities, libraries, and other fixtures, such as Commonwealth's museum, fostered the schools' purposes by depicting the deplorable conditions of the working class within the confines of the capitalist system. Moreover, the democratic setting encouraged a cooperative feeling which transferred to the development of fraternal attitudes among workers who belonged to a common union and to a radically new social arrangement.

Achievements

During its existence, Work Peoples' College attained considerable success. It supplied thousands of graduates who became "active in the political, union, and co-operative movements" of the Finns as "organizers, newspaper men, speakers, and propagandists for the Finnish industrial union movement."[70] More specifically, John Viita, editor of Socialisti and later Työmies, August Wesley, Gust Aakula, Ivar Vapaa, George Humon, Fred Jaakkola, Matti Kairnu, and Jack Ujanen were trained at Work Peoples' College and, later, "offered outstanding leadership in the Finnish-American labor movement."[71] Therefore, Work Peoples' College not only grew from the Marxist inspiration and leadership which came from Finland, but it also supplemented it by developing new leaders in the United States.[72]

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[68] "Growth of Brookwood," Brookwood Review, 15 December 1925, p. 8. "Meet New Commoners," Commonwealth College Fortnightly, 1 November 1926, p. 1; "Here's a Peek at New Student Group," Fortnightly, 15 November 1926, p. 1.

[69] Hansome, p. 204.

Brookwood graduates, likewise, served important roles in the labor movement. "In the course of more than fifteen years of activity, Brookwood trained five hundred persons" who occuppied responsible positions in labor and social movements as organizers, business agents, labor journalists, union officials, and labor educators.[73] Some of the more specific careers of Brookwood graduates included "two Reuther Brothers, Victor and Roy, Julius Hochman, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Rose Pesotta, an ILGWU organizer active in the Akron sit-downs, and Clinton S. Golden, who with other Brookwood graduates was active in the founding of the Steelworkers."[74] Frank Winn and Nat Weinburg, other Brookwood graduates, worked with the Reuthers in their UAW campaigns of the late 1930's and early 1940's.[75] Moreover, "Brookwood trained an impressive number of people who played a leading role in the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations."[76]

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[70] Kristen Svanum, "The Work Peoples' College," Industrial Pioneer, 3 (1925), p. 16. Hereafter cited as College.

[71] WPC, p. 107. Socialisti and Työmies represented two important radical, Finnish publications. For further background see P. George Hummasti, "'The Working Man's Daily Bread,' Finnish-American Working Class Newspapers, 1900-1921," For the Common Good.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Marius Hansome, "The Development of Workers' Education," Workers' Education in the United States, ed. Theodore Brameld (New York, 1941), p. 60. Nereafter cited as Workers' Education. Also, see Hansome (1931), p. 204.

The November 15, 1932, issue of the Commonwealth Fortnightly reported that several of its former students had organized a workers' theatre; worked at Hull House in Chicago; and, participated in unemployed councils and demonstrations, hunger marches, and farmers' movements. The article concluded:

> In many instances besides the above, Commonwealth learns that its former students are working for the cause of the common people in the spheres of activity where they can be of most use to the labor movement.[77]

Certainly, this only represents a sample of the many labor college graduates, but even the accomplishments of these few students cannot be denied. Therefore, the labor college program, as initiated by Work Peoples' College, demonstrated its success by producing graduates who became active in the American labor movement.

Outcomes

Because of its links with the IWW and the Finnish community, the fate of Work Peoples' College became inextricably enmeshed with these two groups. When the IWW opposed American participation in World War One, government officials, with the support of many citizen groups consisting of local businessmen, continually harassed IWW locals and their leaders. Finally, with the mass arrest of 166 IWW leaders in 1917, the political appeal of the IWW and of Work Peoples' College began to decline during the 1920's. The acculturation of the Finns during this same period caused further problems for the school. Put simply, second generation, English speaking Finns were not attracted to Work Peoples' College. They preferred to attend the American public schools instead of a school for immigrant workers. Also, younger Finns avoided Work Peoples' College because they "were often deeply ashamed of their immigrant parents' radicalism."[78] Nonetheless, Work Peoples' College died stubbornly. Although the school ceased operations in 1940, the board of directors continued to maintain the school's financial assets until 1963 "when all of the college funds were finally dispersed.[79]

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[74] Thomas R. Brooks, Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor (New York: Delta Books, 1964), p. 154.

[75] Victor G. Reuther, The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), p. 136 and p. 259.

[76] Brooks, loc. cit.

[77] "Former Students Active in Movement," Commonwealth College Fortnightly, 15 November 1932, p. 1.

Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and acting President of the National Civic Federation, bitterly denounced Brookwood as a communist institution during the 1928 AFL Convention held in New Orleans because of Brookwood's criticisms of the complacent nature and weak actions of the AFL. Woll's charges were made in spite of the fact that only one Brookwood instructor, Arthur Calhoun, was considered a Communist. The accusations became further exaggerated when Brookwood's antagonists, in the AFL, labeled the school as "anti-religious" and a "free love colony." The AFL Executive Council handled the case in an unscrupulous manner since Brookwood was not forewarned of the charges; denied access to the incriminating evidence; and, not given an opportunity to refute the accusations. John Dewey sharply criticized Woll and the AFL for their underhanded actions.[80] Brookwood, though, not only lost prestige, but the school also suffered the withdraw of funds and moral support of unions affiliated with the Federation.[81] In 1932, because of a financial crisis at the college, precipitated in part by the AFL's actions and the Great Depression, Brookwood reduced its staff and student body and cutback its extension program. Its demise was predictable. John Dewey, Sinclair Lewis, and others solicited donations for Brookwood through an article which appeared in the Nation.[82] However, it was too little and too late. Brookwood somehow managed to survive until 1937.

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[78] WPC, pp. 111-112.

[79] "Time Passes Duluthian, College," Duluth Herald, 8 March 1967. The "Duluthian" mentioned in the title of the article was Gust Aakula. The news article contains a picture of Gust standing in front of the building which formerly housed Work Peoples' College; its now an apartment building.

Commonwealth, on the other hand, experienced many attacks from a variety of opponents. The first onslaught occurred as early as 1926 when the Arkansas American Legion accused Commonwealth of affiliating with communists and receiving secret donations from the Soviet Union. With the help of the Arkansas Federation of Labor and J. Edgar Hoover's disclaimer of the Soviet connection, Commonwealth weathered this first storm.[83] Later, in 1935 and 1937, Commonwealth became the subject of investigations by the Arkansas Legislature. A Baptist Minister, the Ku Klux Klan, and employers opposed to Commonwealth's union activities had persuaded the legislature to initiate these inquiries. Accused of seditious activity, sexual perversion, and godlessness, Commonwealth only endured because of the intervention of Jane Addams and H. L. Mencken.[84] Fortunately, Commonwealth "continued to receive donations from such supporters as . . . Harvard's Law Dean Roscoe Pound and economist Sumner Schlicter, labor historian John Commons, H. L. Mencken, John Dewey, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and Albert Einstein."[85] Yet, constant harassment by anti-communist and anti-labor elements finally forced Commonwealth to close in 1941 on concocted charges of prominently exhibiting the unlawful symbol of a hammer and a sickle; disseminating propaganda which encouraged the overthrow of the United States Government: and, not displaying the American flag on campus.[86]

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[80] John Dewey, "Labor Politics and Labor Education," New Republic, 57 (1929), 211-214.

[81] See Labor Age, October-November, 1928, for background of the Brookwood controversy.

[82] John Dewey, et al., "Correspondence Help For Brookwood," Nation, 135 (1932), 592.

Conclusions

The educational and social needs and the radical nature of the Finnish immigrants represented a microcosm of the American working class. It was these conditions that precipitated Work Peoples' College and the American labor college movement. However, with a purpose and program similar to Brookwood and Commonwealth, Work Peoples' College reached its apex when the American workers' education movement was just beginning. Indeed, by the late 1920's, Work Peoples' College symbolized "one of the oldest workers' educational enterprises in America."[87] Moreover, Work Peoples' College produced labor leaders and activists almost fifteen years before Brookwood and Commonwealth were even conceived. Finally, the fact that Work Peoples' College survived for a longer period of time than its counterparts further attests to its significance and vitality. The Finns, therefore, "pioneered" this pattern of workers' education in the United States.[88]

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[83] Educational Commune, pp. 72-73.

[84] "The Arkansas Legislature Shows Good Sense," Christian Century, 52 (1935), pp. 501-02, and "Attack on Commonwealth Renewed," American Teacher, 21 (Jan.-Feb. 1937), pp. 28-29.

[85] Donald H. Grubbs, Cry From the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the New Deal (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1971), pp. 71-72.

[86] Educational Commune, pp. 207-08.

What can be learned from this experience? Quite simply, nonformal education which opposes the prevailing social order will not be tolerated, no matter what amount of political freedom exists in a given society. This was demonstrated by the fact the ideological foundation of each of these schools was erroded. Leo Laukki, the director of Work Peoples' College, was arrested and convicted in 1917 along with 166 other IWW leaders. Work Peoples' College had flourished to this point; thereafter, its popularity and enrollment gradually receded. Brookwood, likewise, received irreparable harm from the AFL's star-chamber tactics. Again, Brookwood had achieved some success and planned a $2,000,000 expansion of its facilities when the Federation's attack occurred.[89] Finally, local and state officials drained Commonwealth's vitality through

[87] Hansome, p. 207.

[88] College, p. 16.

[89] "Labor College Seeks $2,000,000," New York Times, 8 February 1928, p. 16, col. 6.

continuous harassment.

In summation, the political damage that Work Peoples' College experienced in 1917 should have forewarned the founders and supporters of Brookwood and Commonwealth. That is, when schools of this type are young and not too successful, they are tolerated. But, when the schools mature, achieve some success in their endeavors, and plan to expand their activities, they threaten the economic and social elite. The solution is simple; destroy the schools and/or the ideology that they stand for.

THE HANDICAPPED AND PENNSYLVANIA EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION

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The handicapped have been "second class citizens" in this country. Cruickshank traces the attitudes toward the handicapped in our society back to the Protestant religious beliefs which saw the handicapped as imperfect and therefore not whole in the image of God.[1] The term "second class citizen" is not a new nomenclature for the handicapped; Lester Myer, Chief of Special Education in Pennsylvania until 1956, referred to the second class status of the handicapped in his defense of special education programs in Pennsylvania.[2] The handicapped were referred to as "second class citizens" because of discrimination which denied them some of the basic rights which the "first class citizen" enjoyed. They have been discriminated against in many areas of our society including education and employment. The handicapped child's right to education was the issue of many an article in the Pennsylvania School Journal in the early 1900's. However, often the rhetoric was much more abundant than the educational programs for the handicapped.

The handicapped were often denied access to the public schools. In the first Pennsylvania compulsory attendance law, a provision was made to exempt the handicapped.[3] Many of those handicapped children were physically unable to attend the schools at that time because of the lack of technology which would enable them to be mobile. Besides that, the public schools were not equipped, staffed, or built to provide for the needs of the handicapped, so the exemption of the handicapped was a way of legitimatizing the non-attendance for three reasons; 1) The handicapped were considered uneducable because of their handicap, 2) education was considered unnecessary for these children since they did not fit into the labor force, and 3) they were just forgotten by the general public.

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[1] William M. Cruickshank and G. Orville Johnson, Education of Exceptional Children and Youth (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1958), p. 15.

[2] Lester Myer was one of the first county supervisors of special education and later became Chief of the Division of Special Education in the Department of Public Instruction in Pennsylvania until 1956.

[3] Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1895, p. 72.

There were two general types of handicapped children: the severely handicapped and the mildly handicapped. The severely handicapped group consisted of the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the severely mentally retarded. These children were usually not in the public schools until recently. The mildly handicapped were the partially sighted, the hard of hearing, the children with speech problems, and the mildly retarded children. This group was more likely to be in the public schools than the severely handicapped. These mildly handicapped children were becoming a greater problem after 1895 with the gradual improvement of the enforcement of the compulsory attendance law. Before the enactment of this law, these children would have usually dropped out of school because of poor academic achievement, if they attended at all. The schools became the place for children to be when the compulsory attendance laws and the child labor laws became effective. Many children were being held back in the lower grades, unable to master the subject matter because of their handicap. These children could no longer simply drop out because they were not recognized as handicapped. It became policy in Pennsylvania to promote these children when they out grew the classroom furniture.[4] The special education act of 1919 was the first legislative reaction to this problem. This law responded to the criticism that the handicapped were holding back the "normal" children; however, it was not funded until the next session, and then inadequately. Special education in the public school system in

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[4] Until the turn of the century little was known about individual differences among children. Educators considered children who did not learn as well as others as lazy or uninterested in school work. It was not until educational science developed that educators became aware that some children could not learn at the same pace and that others could learn at a faster pace because of differences in ability, intelligence, and other factors.

Pennsylvania, then, was not a humanitarian movement to provide equal education for the handicapped but rather an attempt to alleviate academic retardation and the problems teachers enocuntered with the mentally handicapped in their classrooms.[5]

The number of classes for the various types of handicapped in Pennsylvania supports this statement; most of the handicapped classes were for the mentally retarded, as the following table demonstrates.

Types and Number of Special Classes in Pennsylvania Approved for 1937-38[6]

Orthegenic Backward	611
Speech Correction	68
Orthogenic Disciplinary	33
Convalescent Tuberculous	30
Orthopedic	29
Sight Conservation	25
Deaf and Hard of Hearing	14
Nutrition	11
Restoration	5
Non-English Speaking	2
	828

Even considering there were more mentally handicapped children than the other types, it was still unbalanced. The estimates vary but an estimate which is often proposed is that 10% of the population are mentally handicapped and another 10% are handicapped in other ways. So about one half of the special education classes should have been for the mentally handicapped rather than three fourths of the classes. Moreover, before 1940, approximately 80% of those classes were in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.[7]

These efforts to eliminate the mentally handicapped from the schools or from the regular classrooms climaxed in 1933, when the legislature saw fit to provide a law which allowed the school boards, with the approval of the State Superintendent, to eliminate from school children altogether who were "unable to profit from further school attendance."[8] The policy established by the State Department of Public Instruction stated that children with an IQ measured below 50 could be excluded, those with an IQ below 75, who did not show evidence of profiting from special education, could be excluded, and any child with an IQ below 85 with behavior problems could be excluded.[9]

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[5] Some children with vision or hearing problems were often considered to be mentally retarded.

[6] Lester Ade, Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Harrisburg: Department of Public Instruction, 1936-38), p. 208.

[7] Ibid., p. 207.

A second provision allowed school districts to exclude children 16 years old and over without the approval of the State Superintendent. Ernest Newland, Chief of Special Education, explained the State Department's position on this provision.

> Excusal this term applies to those school children 16 or more years of age who may want to be exempted from further school attendance and the properly have been found to be sufficiently retarded mentally to warrant such action. They will, as a group, be children who have not been attending school with reasonable regularity and will really be seeking such an excuse. In some cases, school officials may even make known to these children the nature of this provision and help them take advantage of it.[10]

Therefore, until 1940, the more severely handicapped a child was, the less likely he or she would be in school; and the more problematic the handicapped were to the efficient operation of the schools, and the education of the "normal" children, the more likely they would be excluded from the public schools entirely.

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[8] Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1933, p. 791.

[9] Ernest Newland, "The Exclusion of the Mentally Incapable Children in Pennsylvania," Public Education Bulletin Department of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania 5 (December 1937), p. 10.

[10] Ernest Newland, "Suspension and Exemption of Uneducable Public School Children in Pennsylvania," Public Education Bulletin Department of Public Instruction Pennsylvania 6 (January 1938) p. 11.

The children who were more severely handicapped were placed in institutions; the blind, the deaf, the mentally retarded and later the crippled. The institutions for the blind and the deaf were established as private institutions in Pennsylvania.[11] While the institutions for the mentally handicapped were State operated and were mostly custodial in nature, both types of institutions served one similar purpose---removing the severely handicapped from society since they were often seen as an embarrassment or a burden to their families and society. "Out of sight and out of mind" could sum up the treatment of these children. The mentally handicapped were warehoused in institutions because it was thought that very little could be done for them and, therefore, they needed to be institutionalized. The blind and deaf were less of a burden on others since, given the proper training, they could become self sufficient. However, without this training the blind and deaf would also become a burden on the state because they would be unable to become self sufficient and would become unemployable.

The residential schools for the blind and the deaf were administered by individuals who were concerned with their education; these schools were humanitarian and charitable efforts to provide for the special needs of the handicapped. Educators worked to change the images of these institutions from a place to hide the handicapped to a place for educating the handicapped. Superintendent Thomas McAloney, of the Western Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, announced in 1908: "The old "Asylum" idea is rapidly being dispelled and the institution is receiving its proper recognition as an educational establishment."[12] However, that recognition was long in coming.

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[11] The exception was the State Oral School for the Deaf in Scranton.

[12] Thomas McAloney, Annual Report of the Western Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind, 1908, p. 17.

The State funded part of the residential schools' operating costs, not from education funds but from public charity funds. The residential schools fought the State to be included as part of the educational system rather than part of the public charities until 1925. In 1923, the Pittsburgh residential schools for the blind and deaf went to court to have their names changed from institutions to schools.[13] Two years later the state legislature transferred the residential schools for the blind and the deaf to the Department of Public Instruction for funding and supervision.[14]

But not all the blind and deaf children in the state were in these institutions. Many parents refused to send their children to school and it was not until 1925 that the State legislature added a provision of compulsory attendance for the blind, deaf, and crippled to the school code. And even then all the blind and deaf were not provided with an educational program until 1962.[15]

The handicapped, then, were educated in the institutions for humanitarian or charitable reasons, but the move to turn these charitable institutions into schools was backed up by the argument that the education of the handicapped was a good investment for the state.

> But it should not be considered an expense to the State. On the contrary, it means a very profitable investment, because we take helpless ignorant little children, who but for our school would grow up dependent upon the State, --even criminals in many instances. We develop them into law abiding, self respecting, self supporting citizens, an asset instead of a liability paying big dividends.[16]

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[13] Board of Directors, Annual Report of the Western Pennsylvania School for the Blind. 1908, p. 17.

[14] Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1925, p. 73.

[15] "Education Now Given All Deaf and Blind," Newsletter Department of Public Instruction 7 (April 1962).

[16] Annual Report of the Western Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. 1922, p. 25.

The rationale for this argument was that the handicapped were not producers, in our production oriented society, because they did not have skills which would make them employable, and because of their handicaps, they could not pick up those skills naturally. It was assumed by many that the uneducated and unskilled would end up as criminals, beggars, or welfare recipients. If the handicapped had no jobs, they could not be self sufficient and, therefore, would become wards of the State or would have to be cared for by their families or in some other arrangement, all of which were burdens on other individuals and on the resources of the State. They were, therefore, liabilities to the capitalist society. They could not be productive and they kept others from being productive. However, if the handicapped were trained in some skill and could find employment, they could be self sufficient or partially so and, therefore, would then not be a burden on society or other individuals. This investment theory appealed to politicians. The legislation of 1925 transferred the residential schools to the Department of Public Instruction and provided that the State would pay 75% of the cost to educate the handicapped child in the institutions and the local school districts of which the child was a resident would pay 25%.[17]

The situation was not the same for the institutionalized mentally handicapped. These children were not provided with educational programs nor were they expected to become self sufficient. The investment argument was not presented to the State for the education of the mentally handicapped. These were State institutions, usually administered by medical doctors not educators, which helps explain why the retarded did not receive education benefits. The blind and deaf were provided with State support under the law in 1925, while the mentally retarded were only included under that law in 1975. Beforehand the parents were expected to pay to have their children institutionalized if they were financially able.

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[17] Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1925, p. 73.

In conclusion, there were citizens in our society who did not have equal rights because of their handicaps. They have been "second class citizens" because they have not had the same opportunities as others. Of these "second class citizens," some were more accepted than others. The mildly handicapped were more readily accepted than the severely handicapped. The mentally retarded were the least accepted and were the last to receive educational benefits from the state public educational system.

Economic considerations rather than educational considerations dominated the development of special education programs in the residential schools for the handicapped. Politicians regarded the funding of special education as a way of saving money for the State rather than something good for the children themselves. Pragmatic solutions to problems with handicapped children in the regular classrooms rather than educational considerations dominated the development of special education programs in the public schools. Not until the handicapped were removed from the regular classroom was there true interest in providing them with adequate educational programs.

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[18] Laws of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1975, p. 484.

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A METHOD FOR TEACHING MEANING IN THE ARTS:
GIVING HEART TO THE AMATEUR

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The arts, whether "high" (painting, opera, theater, ballet) or "popular" (radio, television, cinema) and the meaning of their expression have never constituted more than a microscopic part of American schools' curricula. Throughout my own K through Bachelor of Arts in English and Education, for instance, I had a one day a week music class in the seventh grade and a single college-level course in art and music appreciation. And we are well aware that today times are even harder for the arts and humanities curriculum. School districts' budgets get cut,and music teachers are fired; art museum field trips are cancelled; film rentals are impossible. Undergraduates have difficulty landing a job, and liberal arts colleges transmogrify themselves overnight into engineering-technology and computer schools. To feed the flames, school boards scream, "We must have literacy! Emphasize more the 3-R's." If they would use the dictionary, they would find, if they could locate the words, that "ritin" is spelled not with an "r" but with a "w," and "rithmetic" with an "a." They would also discover that literacy is "the quality or state of being literate" and that "literate's" first definition is "someone who is educated or cultured." Someone who could not read or write (the school boards' meaning) is not illiterate (for that as easily could refer to someone who is uncultured) he is "totally illiterate."

So in the name of "literacy" they cut out those last vestiges of the high arts (what Kenneth Clark conservatively points to as the near total embodiment of our capital "C" Civilization, and they eliminate funding for the popular arts (that mirror into which most people today look to see their small "c" civilization.)

Any teacher who loves art and has spent a full two weeks teaching the difference between a gerund and a participle knowing her students will more than likely never encounter a Rembrandt painting or a Brahms symphony knows that something is wrong. Any teacher who respects television and has spent a week on the Lincoln-Douglas debates and yet has no time to spend on the propaganda effects of the film medium knows something is wrong. But you say, "I'm only an English teacher; I'm not an art historian Why don't we hire one for the district?" or "I'm a social studies teacher; hire for a day maybe one of the writers of a television show to speak to an assembly." These expenditures are to come, of course, from a budget that next year requires a cut in ditto paper by half. The answer to the question of who is to enrich the arts and humanities curriculum in my school is as obvious as who is to fix the leaky roof of my isolated mountain cabin. If you don't do it, it won't get done.

If you do feel that high and/or popular culture is important, it is up to you to learn how to incorporate it first more fully into your own life and then into the curriculum of your own classroom. The purpose of my paper is to present a method for just such an amateur that maximizes his assets and minimizes his liabilities. There are advantages to being an amateur; since you're not an expert, you are freed from the burden of having to proceed and sound like one. "Amateur" suggests powerful motivation; it is derived from the French for lover. An amateur does what he does for the love or pleasure of it. He is devoted. He is an enthusiast. And think back to the differences between your learning from your amateur carpenter grandfather, let's say, and your professional machine shop teacher. One teacher wasn't better than the other, but each had his own methods; both may have worked for you the learner.

The heart of my method for the amateur's teaching meaning in the arts is the selection and utilization of materials. A teacher and student can discuss the Napoleonic Wars without having witnessed them, but talking about Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture" without having heard it is absurd. The kinds and quality of the material resources possible to bring into the classroom is essential to teaching the arts in school. Fortunately an aspect of a definition of an art is that it is somehow replicable. A high fidelity recording of the "1812 Overture" played on a good sound system can stand in the place of an _en masse_ visit to hear the Pittsburgh Symphony at Heinz Hall, plus the recording has the advantage for your purposes because you are free to play a particular passage over and over until your point is made clearly. (For constant cueing and replaying, tape is preferable to records.) A color slide of Rembrandt's 1653 "Descent from the Cross" in the National Gallery may not reveal the painterly quality of the original, but it can be projected triple life-sized on a screen right next to a slide of any other painting from anywhere else in the world.

I used four principles in selecting and utilizing material for my arts and humanities introductory course at Penn State: 1) the work should be available to me in a form usable in a classroom setting and in as high quality of duplication as possible; 2) it ideally should be a work acknowledged by experts to be of artistic value, although 3) the work at the same time should be one I respond to and am willing to devote time to, and 4) the work chosen should somehow relate as directly and as specficially as possible to another work or works that I intend to present in a sequence.

It may seem odd that my first principle is one of availability. I have experienced an art course in which the instructor held up a 5" X 7" black and white reproduction of a painting in front of the class weakly apologizing that the work was very important in the history of art and this was the only reproduction he could find. (It's worth noting that I cannot remember what that painting was.) On the other hand, I still vividly recall a single letter of an illuminated medieval manuscript that was reproduced via macro-photography on a projected color slide; I also remember the instructor's connection between that letter and Thomas Malory's Morte Arthur. Similarly my long range objective is to have my students remember the material I presented in the class and the approach I took with it. As a result I am willing to make some sacrifices of content for quality reproductions. For example, I chose to compare the 1653 Rembrandt "Descent from the Cross," a slide I had purchased at the National Gallery, not with his 1633 version which I could only find in a black and white reproduction but with a Giotto "Crucifixion" that I had copied from an art book. I used to feel vaguely uneasy that my approach was tending toward expediency until I happened upon a justification by the poet John Ciardi in an essay entitled "The Act of Language":

> For a man is finally defined by what he does with his attention. It was Simone Weil who said, "Absolute attention is absolute prayer." . . . To seek that increasing purity and concentration of one's attention that will lead to more and more meaningful perception. . .is the basic human exercise in any art. It must be added. . .that in art it does not matter what one pays attention to; the quality of the attention is what counts.

If that is so (that it is not what one pays attention to in art that matters, but the quality of that attention), then the higher quality of the materials, the more attention your students are likely to pay to them. I view my course as a stimulator to introduce art in almost any form and as a concentrator of attention on whatever specifics in that art that we may happen upon.

In order to accumulate this quality material economically I have had to make some effort to direct my travels and time to include art museums wherever I happened to have been from St. Louis and Washington to Paris and Florence. The excuse of needing to acquire museum reproduced slides and taking slides myself of the pieces themselves has allowed me the luxury of spending real time with works I had only a shadowy acquaintance with. And the results can be satisfying of themselves. In the right light the painterly qualities of the surface of a canvas can be photographed as can an approximation of the multiple effects of a free standing piece of sculpture. Here are some slides I took for an in-class comparison of Donatello's "David" with Michelangelo's. The class consumed two entire seventy-five minute periods largely, I believe, because the materials themselves were worth looking at.

I am guided in my selections by the luck of availability, by my own intuition and by expert's standard opinion. A casual thumbing through your old Jansen History of Art could save you from the anxiety about whether or not the work you wish to invest in is worth the time and expense. For example, had I been in Florence without the knowledge that Donatello's "David" was important, I doubt I would have given the piece more than a tourist's glance.

My third point is a qualification of the second one about relying on expert opinion for selection. For this initiation course in the arts, no matter how important a work is supposed to be, if you do not respond to it and/or do not know where it leads, do not use it. Your chief attributes as an amateur that you can reveal to your students are your enthusiasm for the material and the inner workings of your own mental and aesthetic processes. For instance, the only example of romantic painting that I use in my course is a slide of a painting by Henry Fuseli "Lady Macbeth Seizing the Daggers." The painting is far from being a masterpiece—in spite of the energy of Fuseli's vision, he just couldn't draw very well. I felt though that the painting says a great deal about Macbeth's tragic dilemma and says it in a way nicely exaggerated to make its meaning more accessible to my introductory students. As importantly the painting has become a keystone in the building of coherence for the other materials in the course. I will discuss this aspect of the painting later.

The teacher's responsibility to provide some structural frame for his possibly quite idiosyncratic material is my final principle. Sequencing his material by using as the basic unit at least two comparable works is a way of generating this structure. The art historian has the whole continuum of the story of art and the lexicon of art history to lend coherence to his presentations. He can talk meaningfully and efficiently about "Baroque tendencies,"" picturesque effects" and "painterly treatments." The amateur, by contrast, often has only windfall materials and an intention to stay as close as possible to the language of his as yet uninitiated students. To prevent this process from turning into an exercise in random fact production, I attempt to discuss only works that are comparable to one another on as many points as possible. In this way the almost limitless number of artistic variables can be reduced to single points of comparison, such as focusing on the meaning behind Michelangelo's change of a life-sized pre-pubescent David into an eighteen foot giant.

I want my students to start thinking like artists. My working critical assumption here is that the building block of artistic meaning is each artistic choice that is made, that art, finally is no more nor less than the result of someone, the artist, making aesthetically appropriate choices. With this minimal definition, a student, almost any student at any level, can begin to get at the meaning of any particular choice by measuring the distance between the choice made and an alternative one. By using works as comparable as possible, the beginning art student is presented with a more manageable and for him more coherent list of choices that he himself is able to identify and analyze.

The basic unit of my introductory arts courses then is a double—two comparable works. This joining of works provides its own internal coherence and even its own language independent of, though translatable into, the expert's terms. This coherence ideally becomes clearer, though more complex, and the language richer as more pieces are linked to that double single unit to form the sequencing of a larger unit. The following is an illustration of the way I evolved a larger unit of material from such a single coupling. While thinking about a point of comparison for the two "Davids," I began to see them as a representation of Luther's inner and outer man and the whole question of creation of personality; this led me to a slide I had made in Florence of one of Michelangelo's "Captives" which in turn reminded me of Shakespeare's Macbeth leading me to the Fuseli painting. Only then did I begin to see the ironically contrasting relationship between the paired figures of Fuseli's and Shakespeare's Macbeths and Donatello's and Michelangelo's Davids. They all eventually were included in my course along with two film versions of Macbeth (Welles' and Shaeffer's) owned by Penn State, shown as a double feature and discussed in terms of the comparison of the two directors' choices. Admittedly the coherence of the parts is in a large part my own, and it came about from an inductive process of mulling over the particular materials I had available to me at the time. But I was pleased at the depth to which my students took the material.

The method as employed in the class works just as inductively from the identification of specific points of comparison to the elucidating of the meanings of the works as a whole or the relationship of the works to large cultural frames. (Usually I do not inform the students in advance who did the work, what its title is or when it was done, because I want them to deal with the material as freshly and objectively as they can.) Examinations for the course force the student to work more deductively. He is asked to relate a particular detail we have not previously discussed to the meaning of the whole work or its cultural significance which we have discussed.

I have recently applied this methodology to teaching the popular arts as well. (A colleague and I have developed an introductory course in scriptwriting for the various media.) The purpose of the course is to introduce the nature of media (print to film) and the techniques and problems of adapting material to those media. We've limited ourselves to fiction adapted or adaptable to the various media—a study of the novel, film and radio show of The Maltese Falcon for instance. In order to focus on how a story in print means differently from, let's say, that same story dramatized for radio, we acquired a tape recording of a Dimension X radio program "Mars Is Heaven" which is an adaptation of a Ray Bradbury short story. Oddly enough we had an easier time getting the early 1950's radio show than finding a printed copy of the story itself. The students read the story, attempted to adapt the opening for a dramatized radio production and then heard the professional radio adaptation. To expand the time and quality of the attention we could pay to any single element of the radio show we transcribed the entire program into its probable script format. The two hour discussion that followed from students in only their second day of class was astounding to us. Seeing the changes in the material side by side, the students were able to identify easily what they were. The students then went on with only the slighest of promptings to discuss those changes in terms of the nature of drama, the radio medium and literary art in general. They, in other words, were involved in the process of teaching themselves because, I believe, they had to deal with real problems from the inside as fledgling scriptwriters rather than from the outside as students of a class. If my tone sounds too enthusiastic, forgive me I am only an amateur.

Obviously the reason I am presenting this paper is the invigoration I received from using the method over the last few years. In preparing this presentation though, my wife quickly brought me down by asking if I could ground my method on any accepted educational foundations. I am, of course, the "if-it-feels-good-do-it" type of teacher. When she asked the question I remembered a student evaluation of my arts and humanities course. that had not a word written on it--only a rather well executed drawing of me in a turtle neck sweater and corduroy jacket juggling two of her heads. My wife then tried to drop me a cue, "Bruner maybe?" she said, and I went to the library.

Jerome Bruner in The Process of Education makes a number of philosophic statements on the nature of education that roughly correspond to some of what I have just discussed about my methodology to introduce the arts. First I feel that the student of the arts must start thinking and behaving similar to an artist, making imaginative artistic choices to begin to understand and appreciate the nature and significance of the artistic choices that actually were made. Bruner puts it this way, "The schoolboy learning physics is a physicist, and it is easier for him to learn physics behaving like a physicist than doing something else." (Bruner, 1960, p. 14) What Bruner sees as the essential way of proceeding is to make the kind of "active use" of material *per se* that I suggest in the paper,and the end result of this active use is learning of the underlying structure of the art or the medium.

And once this underlying structure is learned, "Learning should not only take us somewhere, it should allow us later to go further more easily." (Bruner, p. 17) My hope in these introductions to the arts is that students who had never seen a Vermeer painting or heard a Wagner opera or knew the difference between the impact of a zoom versus a dolly shot in the making of a film, are comfortable enough or foolish enough to wade in over their heads into other works of art and struggle to discover what and how they mean.

Bruner believes that the type of approach I suggest in this paper when presented properly could be used for students at virtually any level, "The foundation of any subject may be taught to anybody at any age in some form. . .with an emphasis upon the intuitive grasp of facts and upon the use of these basic ideas. It is only when such basic facts are put in formalized terms as equations or elaborated verbal concepts that they are out of reach of the young child, if he has not first understood them intuitively and had a chance to try them out on his own." (Bruner, pp. 12-13)

My methodology encourages the student to trust his instincts about specific artistic choices and try his hand at validating those hunches by relating them in an inductive argument first to other specific choices, then to the meaning of the whole work or the meaning of the culture that produced that work. In other words, the method's purpose is to teach in the language of artistic expression itself so that my students can continue as I hope I shall toward a cultural "literacy" far beyond that of merely not being "totally illiterate."

BACK TO BASICS--A NATIONAL STRATEGY:
AN EXPLORATION OF ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS

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BACK TO BASICS--A NATIONAL STRATEGY:

An Exploration of Issues and Implications

I. Introduction

Among the items most frequently discussed by both educators and the general populace are the ideal goals of instruction versus the outcomes of the educational systems currently being implemented. Anyone who is exposed to the media has some notion of the numerous difficulties facing schools today; e.g., rising costs, declines in student enrollment, and an apparent decline in student learning. Problems of this nature have instigated a review of the educational process. American education today is facing a period of "fluctuating confidence" in its ability to nuture students who are able to function competently in work or college settings.

The general tenor of public concern for educators' accountability in teaching basic skills underlies the recent movement in educational policy reform that advocates the design and implementation of programs insuring that students attain basic skills competence.* National in scope, the movement makes itself evident through numerous editorials or provocative articles such as "Why Johnny Can't Read, Write, or Figure". Although public opinion surveys (Gallup 1974, 1975) of a few years ago revealed that the majority of our citizenry believed that schools were doing a good job of educating our children, more recent Gallup polls indicate (by a two to one majority) that Americans perceive the quality of education as declining. Garrett (1978) emphasized this public perception, writing:

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*Competence, as defined by Spady (1978), is the ability to demonstrate success in a life-role.

> ...Gallup polsters (1977) asked people to respond to a dozen suggestions for the improvement of public instruction, the most popular was: "Devote more attention to teaching the basic skills." (p. 235)

Cawelti (1977), in his discussion of the utilization of minimal competencies as determinants for graduation, concluded:

> ...the public quite clearly is saying that it wants more and better teaching of the basic skills of reading, mathematics, and writing. (p. 86)

Over the past decade no single problem has received more attention from educators, researchers, policy-makers, and the public than the "back to basics" approach to education and its meaning, implementation, and future implications. Nonetheless, among all those interested, there remains considerable confusion about the various types of basic skills approaches. Even a cursory search of the literature pertaining to the area of basic skills discloses a repletion of articles and research studies that attempt to identify and organize information that is potentially useful to both educational practitioners and the general public. The purpose of this paper is to highlight and to explore issues relevant to the "Back to Basics Movement", and to examine the implications (both present and future) of such an endeavor.

II. The Context

Responding to the public's demand for the improvement of basic skills instruction, educational developers have made efforts to address the "basics" by changing programs to incorporate content and methods which facilitate skill development and hopefully improve outcomes. According to Airasian and Madaus (1977):

> After a little over a decade during which the emphasis in education has been upon equality, there are indications of a recent shift toward emphasis upon educational quality. (Emphasis mine) (p. 79)

As the outlook of educators and the general populace concerning "basic skills" becomes more and more comprehensive, the primacy of these skills for life roles becomes more and more apparent. Individuals must possess the versatility to adapt in order to fulfill multiple life roles. "Coping skills," "adult literacy," and "survival skills" are terms pertaining to diverse life roles which are frequently found in the recent Back to Basics literature. As these labels suggest the underlying premise of the movement is the expectation that experience (even if only simulated) in life role situations will augment the opportunities for success in school that in turn lead to success in adult life.

Almost all the states have identified basic skills education as the focus for restructuring current programs. Each state has developed its own plan for assessing existing educational processes and for planning future policy decisions. In Pennsylvania, the State Board of Education has responded to this issue by directing the Secretary of

Education to review the state educational process and to develop a program for "community learning" within the schools of Pennsylvania. The resulting program, titled Project 81, has as its focus the development of student competencies in such areas as: reading/communication arts, computation, physical dexterity, problem solving, and interpersonal relations, and in life roles including those in the home, in the state (as citizens) on the job, and in leisure pursuits. (Project 81: An Overview; Dept. of Ed., 1976) Project 81 is concerned with redefining the goals of education and determining methods for implementing the selected goals. Therefore, it is crucial to identify basic skills and to develop and implement procedures which are both effective and responsive to the uniqueness of students currently making the transition from education to work or education to education.

Concurrent to the notion of basic skills is the idea that learning is a lifelong, sequential, and developmental process extending from kindergarten through high school, college, and adult life. While schools have traditionally been concerned with helping students to acquire a body of knowledge and an accumulation of a variety of skills, children learn not only for present functioning, but for future functioning as well. We are faced today with the indisputable fact that what is adequate for success in the adult world today may be obsolete within a few years. It seems futile to try to predict the skills that children will need even a decade from now.

Therefore the idea of life-long learning or what Goldhammer (1972) refers to as life-centered education becomes an important concept for further study. Regarding life-long education, Rahnema (1975) stated:

> If life-long education answers the basic problems of education in the future, it is because it intends to aim at the *whole*, evolving human being, in all his aspects and throughout his life-time, because it addresses itself at once to basic education, individual training, the right to leisure in the active, cultural, and artistic sense and to providing permanent access to educational means whereby the intellectually and physically creative potential of man can be developed. (p. 25)

In light of this thinking, the "Back to Basics Movement" needs a semantic reinterpretation. Its real thrust is toward the development of skills that are adaptable rather than back to skills that are static or outdated. The title "Back to Basics" seems a misnomer. It is really a "Forward to Basics Movement" focusing on the development of skills that change with changing circumstances. Viewed in this way the life-long learning movement and the basic skills movement are allied in their underlying philosophies and orientation for the future.

Both movements emerged in response to the societal and educational upheavals of the turbulant "sixties." They are both methods of compensating for the proliferation of ever changing knowledge bombarding individuals in society today. Consider for a moment the following examples of the rate at which new knowledge is being created:

1. Half of what a person learns is no longer valid when he reaches middle age.
2. One-third of the items on the supermarket shelves did not exist 10 years ago.
3. Three-fourths of all the people employed by industry 12 years from now will be producing goods that have not yet been conceived of.

4. More mathematics has been created since 1900 than during the entire preceding period of recorded history.
5. Half of what a graduate engineer studies today will be obsolete in 10 years; half of what he will need to know is not yet known by anyone. (Ziegler, 1971)

The knowledge explosion, new systems for handling information, technological innovations, high mobility, and the general overall rapid changes in every aspect of life all contribute to the need to view education as a lifelong process. It is probable that students in schools today will never complete an education, that continuing education will become the rule rather than the exception to the rule. To fail to recognize the accelerated pace of change is to deny the "swfit arrival of a future that is radically different from the present." (Toffler, 1977) When considering an unknown future, educational institutions cannot set sensible goals or do an effective job until its members subject assumptions about tomorrow to critical analysis.

Consider the following assumptions:

1. Change is constant.
2. Formal education is not the exclusive domain of the American educational system.
3. "The learning force will soon exceed the work force." (Corrigan, 1974)
4. "No one will live all of his life in the world into which he was born, and no one will die in the world in which he worked in his maturity." (Mead, 1969)
5. "What will be most worth learning will be mainly the knack of learning itself." (Corrigan, 1974)
6. "A practical education must prepare a man for work that does not yet exist and cannot be clearly defined." (Drucker, 1957)

The above assumptions clearly suggest a constantly changing society and the byproducts of this change will be turbulence, anxiety, and frustration. Therefore, the educative process must prepare future citizens to deal effectively with an ambiguous future.

Peter Drucker (1957) offers the following goals and/or major thrust for American education of the future:

> 1. Tomorrow's school will be based on the principle of "no rejects." It will be based on the firm assumption that the school can guarantee that every child will reach a minimum--and a high minimum--of accomplishment in the fundamental skills.
>
> 2. Learning tomorrow, from preschool on to the most advanced adult continuing education, will utilize and put to work the individual's own rhythm, his own learning speed, his own pattern.
>
> 3. American education tomorrow will, at the same time, be achievement oriented. It will, in effect demand of itself that it enable each student to acquire excellence in the area for which his own talents and abilities fit him the best.
>
> 4. In its methods the school of tomorrow will be neither "behavioristic" nor "cognitive," neither "child centered" nor "discipline centered." It will be eclectic.
>
> 5. To move to an entirely different area: tomorrow's school, whether kindergarten, univeristy or continuing education, has to be both integrated into the community and an integrator of the community.
>
> 6. One way or another, American educators tomorrow will be held accountable for performance.
>
> 7. And finally, the most important change perhaps, American education tomorrow will no longer assume that one stops learning when one starts working. It will no longer assume that one learns when one is too young to do anything else, and especially too young to work. It will no longer assume that learning stops when living begins. (pp. 7-11)

The future for American education is uncertain. However, regardless, of one's point of view, planning educational programs for a perplexing future is the challenge facing educators. The main goal in designing educational programs then, should be to prepare students to become increasingly able learners, capable of assimilating new methods, new content, new theory, and new ways of using time.

In summary, a complex context surrounds the emergence of basic skills and their applicability for developing life role competencies. A major goal of educational programs should be to utilize theories of lifelong learning in the identification of basic skills and the development of educational strategies to implement them. In essence, successive technological advances have lent an air of instability to our age. In education as in industry a method may become outmoded even before its application has had an impact upon the society at large. Therefore, the essence of the teaching-learning process must be adaptibility. As students must possess the capacity to function within multiple roles, so schools must be prepared to provide experiences that promote student versatility. And so educational theory itself must adapt to incorporate a new dimension of flexibility. On the level of the student, on the level of the content and the methods used to teach the content, and on the level of the educational theory underlying the teaching principles, education has become developmental, a process in flux evolving in response to changing needs. In the analysis that follows, I shall consider the Basic Skills Movement (BSM) in the context of the Lifelong Learning Approach.

III. Background Issues Surrounding the Emergence of the Basic Skills Movement

The dominant conceptions that can be identified as percipitating the basic skills movement are: 1) a conviction that schools have neglected to identify and enforce high-level, attainable educational standards, and 2) the belief that, in some cases, students have been advanced on the basis of "seat time" and completed courses rather than proficiency in the basic skills needed for adult life. Thus the basic skills movement is underlied by the widespread belief that the schools have failed to fulfill their major function.*

Over the past decade proficiency in the basic skills (e.g., reading, writing, and math) as assessed by standardized tests appears to have declined. According to Davis (1977) "a recent study by Northcutt (1975) revealed that twenty percent of the U.S. adult population was functionally illiterate." (p. 52) Data presented by Della-Piana, Endo, Odell, and Cooper (1976) are illustrative of what appears to be a convincing decline in writing skills during the period between 1965-1970, and an even more substantial drop in the 1970-1975 interval. Shane (1977) emphasized the public's concern over the declining scores, writing:

> After a decade of relative stability, academic performance of students in the U.S. began a steady decline in the early 1960's. Today Americans have data to imperil their illusions and intensify their fears about pupil progress. (p. 83)

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*This conception parallels one cited by Spady (1978) concerning the Competency Based Education Movement.

Some possible causes for this decline in test scores have been suggested by data analysts and these are listed in Table 1. However, there are no clear-cut indications concerning the weight of each factor in influencing the decline in basic skills performance.

While Table 1 focuses upon perspectives of student performance, the general public views declining scores from the perspective of the performance of schools. As previously noted, the widespread feeling is that schools have failed to identify and enforce high-level goals--resulting in low educational standards--and that students are automatically advanced regardless of proficiency in basic skills. Such beliefs have led to the elimination of "frill" courses and the overall reexamination of current program objectives.

In addition to the notion that educational standards are declining, the general perception is that educational environments have deteriorated over the past several years. The Gallup (1975) survey of public attitudes toward education found that discipline was cited as the number one educational problem in today's schools. Vandalism, prolonged teachers' strikes and drug and alcohol abuse have also been suggested as factors contributing the lessening quality of school environments.

The trend toward basic skills has been one outgrowth of the movement to reinstate quality in the schools. The Basic Skills concept has inspired the development of the Competency Based Education Movement (CBE) frequently cited by Spady (1977) and Mitchell and Spady (1978). The watchword of this movement is "proficiency" involving "Minimum Competency Testing" approaches now being considered by many states.

Table 1

Summary of Some Possible Causes of Decline in Standardized Test Scores

The Person: Who is being tested:	Interference: Competing Outside Activities	Curriculum Opportunities: School Environments	Consequences: Teacher/Parent Feedback and Provisions of Contingencies for Performance
1. The persons tested represent an increasingly wider range of ability because of the reduction in drop-out rate.*	1. Television set ownership and the amount of time spent viewing TV have increased over the past two decades.	1. Fewer basic courses are now being required of all students in high school.	1. Less homework yields less parent feedback on specifics of performance.*
2. Pupil absenteeism has steadily increased during the last 10 years.	2. Peer group supported involvement of some students in drug abuse, alcohol consumption and youth crime provide strongly reinforced activities competing with "basic education."*	2. There appears to be a general lowering of educational standards for a variety of reasons.	2. Changes in family yield less attention to children by adults (children born closer together, fewer adults in home, more working parents, more single-parent families.*

*Cited by Della-Piana, Endo, Odell, and Cooper (1976)

IV. Two Basic Skills Philosophies and a Proposed Model

Traditionally, the public has perceived the purpose of the school to be one of communicating knowledge. Smith (1975) referred to this generally accepted view of the school's function, writing:

> Even when it is asserted that schools are engaged in developing children's competencies, or skills, the means selected generally involve the provision of information, or instruction, through language. It seems to be widely assumed that children differ from adults only in the amount of knowledge they have acquired, and that teachers can close the gap and turn infants into adults by communicating the knowledge children lack. (p. 217)

Regarding the concepts "knowledge" and "skill," Smith recognized that although the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, there is "an underlying difference between knowing something (in the sense of knowing, or believing something about the world, such as the fact that there are 26 letters in the English alphabet) and knowing how to do something (in the sense of being able to identify the 26 letters or to put them together to form words)." In other words, "knowledge" seems to consist of facts accumulated over time; whereas "skill" might be regarded as the way knowledge is applied.

Skill can in turn be used to acquire additional knowledge. For example, reading is a basic skill that requires a fundamental knowledge of sound/symbol relationships. The skill of reading can also be used to acquire new knowledge--in Bruner's (1966) terms a generative form of learning. Therefore, it is "skill" rather than knowledge that gives the learner the "tools" to acquire more knowledge. Proponents of the

Basic Skills Movement emphasize the concept of "skills" as the key dimension of the educational process. Regardless of the method employed in teaching skills, most movement activists suggest that even for a low level of competence numerous basic skills must be acquired and the development of more advanced skills is contingent upon the acquisition of these basic skills. Dechant and Smith (1977) elaborated this point, stating:

> Skills development proceeds both vertically and horizontally. New and more complex skills are built upon the foundation of earlier and simpler skills while at the same time the basic foundation skills are perfected and enlarged. Growth in skills is gradual but it must be continuous. As new learnings are added, old learnings are practiced and reinforced. (p. 202)

The authors proposed that the long-range goal of instruction should be to develop those basic skills that are vehicles for future learning.

The problem is determining which skills are "basic" or generative in nature. There is a current division among Back to Basics advocates concerning a cohesive definition for the word "basic." To borrow a phrase from Spady (1977), the Basic Skills Movement indeed has become "A Bandwagon in Search of a Definition." According to Jarrett (1977), the difficulty is that "the word seems sometimes to mean too little, sometimes too much." Elaborating on this point, Baum (1976) stated:

> For some, "basic" means the recitation of a spelling rule not necessarily understood; for others a feeling of freedom that comes from avoiding the rules. (p. 132)

Those adherents of the former position--who are members of the "Back to Basics" camp as previously discussed--are in concensus concerning the characteristics of a basic skills program including the following content:

1. Emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic in the elementary grades. Most of the school day is to be devoted to these skills;
2. In secondary grades, most of the day is to be devoted to English, science, math, and history;

The methodology they prescribe involves the following elements:

1. At all levels the teacher is to take a dominant role, with "no nonsense about pupil-directed activites";
2. Methodology to include drill, recitation, daily homework, and frequent testing;
3. Report cards are to carry traditional marks (A, B, C, etc.);
4. Discipline to be strict, with corporal punishment an accepted method of control;
5. Promotion from grades and graduation from high school are to be permitted only after mastery of skills and knowledge has been demonstrated through tests;
6. Eliminate the frills: sex education, drug education, driver education, etc;
7. Eliminate electives and increase the number of required courses;
8. Ban innovations! New math, new science, linguistics, - must all go.[1]

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[1] Note: Taken from--Brodinsky, B. Back to the Basics: The Movement and Its Meaning. Phi Delta Kappan, March 1977, p. 522.

These suggestions exemplify a reversion to methods employed in previous decades and they are cardinal points among that segment of the members of the "basic skills movement" who are looking toward the past for direction in the future. They are advocating basic content that is taught in a highly structured and disciplined environment. More liberal members of the movement concur with the content--as outlined in content premises of the "Back to Basics Movement"--but they do not agree with the proposed methodology. Although there is a general tendency to accept new methods of instruction that have been shown to facilitate learning, there is still some disagreement among progressive basic skills proponents concerning educational process. I would therefore like to propose a basic skills program model in line with the views of the more liberal proponents and offering alternatives to the instructional elements suggested by the more rigid "back to basics" advocates.

1. The teacher's role will be determined by the curriculum goals and the conceptual levels* of the students.
2. Methodology will be selected on the basis of the stage of student skill development--skill acquisition or skill application. For example, in the acquisition stage of a skill such as reading, highly structured instruction is needed, i.e., drill and practice, recitation, etc. In the application stage of a skill such as composition, a more open environment, is indicated, i.e., non-directive teaching, learning centers, etc.
3. Report cards will need to delineate the continuim of skills within a curriculum and reflect the measure of student progress in terms of past performance.

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*A student characteristic indicating the measure of the student's ability to process information and to develop self-responsibility.

4. The creation of appropriate educational environments should channel student energy into constructive learning activities to minimize disciplinary problems.

5. Frequent formative evaluation should be used to determine student proficiency during all phases of skill development.

6-8. Courses designed for enrichment provide a different context in which basic skill can and should be practiced.

In summary, basic skills proponents advocate the development of programs that assist students in acquiring and maintaining those skills that can be adapted for future learning experiences. However, there are two camps of basic skills advocates. One group advocates a return to basics as they were taught in past decades. The other group focuses upon the same basic content but is willing to utilize elements of more recent methodology.

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THE LEGAL RAMIFICATIONS OF COMPETENCY BASED EDUCATION

PROJECT 81

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Terminology

Since the word competency is used in the title of this paper, and in articles and cases dealing with the educational application of the word, a terminology section is included for reference.

Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary defines competency as, "means sufficient for the necessities of life, and the quality or state of being competent." Competent is defined as, "having requisite ability or qualities, rightfully belonging: proper, and legally qualified or capable."[1] The Dictionary of Education Second Edition by Carter V. Goode defines functional competence as, "the ability to apply practical situations to the essential subject matter or field."[2] Blacks Law Distionary Revised 4th Ed. defines competent as, "duly qualified, answering all requirements, sufficient ability or authority, and possessing the requisite natural or legal qualifications. Able, adequate, suitable, sufficient, capable, legally fit."

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[1] Websters Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, G and C. Merrian Company, Publishers, Springfield, Mass. 1967.

[2] Carter V. Goode, Dictionary of Education Second Ed. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1959.

[3] Blacks Law Distionary Rev. 4th Edition, West Publishing Company St. Paul, Minnesota 1968.

The Legal Ramifications of
Competency Based Education
Project 81

Introduction

Background Information

Twelve school districts and school district groups across the state of Pennsylvania have been selected as the models for the Pennsylvania Department of education's top priority for the next five years, Project 81 (competency based education). Project 81 is a comprehensive educational effort to develop by 1981 in every Pennsylvania school district the ability to be better able to prepare students for adult life. The model districts will have a major role in Project 81's three basic goals:

1. To define the skills young people need to cope with the demands of adult life.
2. To build school systems that involve their communities in helping students acquire those skills.
3. To make sure that students actually are prepared for the world beyond schools.

The model districts will serve as field test sites to help develop and refine the strategies for achieving the Project 81 goals statewide. The model districts were chosen on the basis of community and staff support for the project, plus such factors as geographic location and population. As a mix of urban, suburban and rural districts, they are representative of the various types of districts across the state of Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania Department of Education has the responsibility for co-ordinating the definition of a statewide set of skills or competencies in the area of basic skills, which the student must master to be effective both as students and adults.

The basic skill areas are,

1. Reading
2. Writing
3. Speaking
4. Computation
5. Physical Dexterity
6. Problem solving
7. Interpersonal relations

In addition, the Pennsylvania Department of Education will co-ordinate the development of competencies in four "life role" areas, work, leisure, citizenship and home life, where the basic skills will be applied.

The list of competencies is being put together through a two-year process of public participation. A Citizens Advisory Committee, made up of parents, teachers, students and representatives of government, community agencies, business, industry, labor and higher education will provide the department with a list of statements on the things successful adults should be able to do. Councils made up of educators and citizens from the model districts, the Pennsylvania Department of Education staff and a commission of representatives from higher education will also contribute. The results will be compared with "competency-statements" developed around the country. Finally, all Pennsylvania school districts and the general public will have a chance to react.

All this information will eventually be refined into a list of statewide competencies that all students from Pennsylvania Public schools should master before they graduate from high school. School districts will be encouraged to develop additional competency statements that reflect their local situations.*

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*"Project 81" Anne K. Marshall Curriculum Bulletin Pittsburgh Public Schools: Division of Educational Program Development: XII(6) March 1978.

The above information concerning competency based education gives rise to a general statement of issue that should be contemplated, researched, and if possible answered to the highest possible degree before implementation of Project 81.

What legal rights and liabilities will accrue to students and school districts if competency based education is implemented in Pennsylvania under Project 81?

In attempting to answer the legal research question stated above an initial review of the Pennsylvania Department of Education's and local school districts authority to implement Project 81 must be reviewed in full detail. Education is a function of the state government, and its powers and restrictions are found in the United States Constitution.

> "The legislature of the state has plenary power to carry out the education function of the state subject only to any additional restrictions imposed by the state constitution."[1]

The educational function is classified as a statewide responsibility, and the legality of this fact does not change even though certain aspects of the educational function are delegated to state and local authorities.[2] The implementation of new or altered educational practices by local school districts receives legal precedence from the Kalamozoo Case of 1874.[3] Here the Supreme Court of Michigan held the implementation of new educational practices and activities as a desirable method of achieving broad educational goals as stated in general legislation. In the area of curriculum, and power of authority to establish educational practices the rule reads as follows,

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[1] Reutter, E. Edmund, and Hamilton, Robert R. The Law of Public Education. The Foundation Press, Inc. Mineola, New York, 1976. p. 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[3] Stuart v. School Dist. No. 1 of Village of Kalamozoo, 30 Michigan 69 (1874).

> "It is well established that the legislature can require children of proper age to submit to education and can require to be studied in public and private schools those subjects which are "plainly essential to good citizenship." Prohibited can be that which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare."[4]

Local school boards do have the authority to offer courses beyond those mandated by the state and this rests on the legal basis of implied delegated powers.[5] The courts have been very liberal in interpreting implied powers in the area of curricular matters.[6] The courts also recognize in the area of curriculum that it is an administrative function of school boards and administrators to deal with changing educational conditions through the establishment of new courses and the rearrangement of curriculum.[7]

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[4] Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, 268 U. S. 510, 45 S. Ct. 571, 69 L. Ed. 1070 (1925).

[5] Reutter E. Edmund and Hamilton, Robert R. The Law of Public Education p. 128.

[6] Ibid., p. 128.

[7] Jones v. Holes, 334 Pa. 538, 6A 2d 102 (1939).

In the area of required studies and activities the judicial problem facing the courts is to establish a "reasonable working balance" between the right of parents to guide the upbringing and education of their children, and the right of the state to require the study of essential subjects for citizenship.[8] Courts generally give the benefit of the doubt to parents and children in educational matters in areas that are not likely to adversely affect the child or state. Areas where parent and pupil rights are most likely to be sustained are, constitutional rights, religious rights, and areas where a parent and child can make a reasonable selection from courses offered so that a feasable alternative under the circumstances may be substituted.[9]

The next area of concern is graduation requirements and the legal decisions and guidelines that determine policy in this area. It seems that no appellate case has come to the attention of the courts in which parents have insisted upon the graduation of their children without meeting the prescribed courses for graduation. The courts feel the central issue is whether the courses are reasonably related to that which the diploma attests to.[10] General policy as to graduation requirements is as follows,

> "It would seem clear that boards of education, in the absence of specific statutory limitations, would be able to prescribe graduation requirements provided they are reasonable. It would necessarily follow that if reasonable graduation requirement may be prescribed, students who for any reason fail or refuse to meet them may be denied graduation."[11]

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[8] Reutter, E. Edmund, and Hamilton, Robert T. The Law of Public Education p. 128.

[9] State ex rel. Kelly v. Ferguson 95 Neb. 63, 144 N. W. 1039 (1914).

[10] Reutter, E. Edmund, and Hamilton Robert R. The Law of Public Education p. 137.

[11] Ibid., p. 137.

The rule is that school authorities are vested with sound descretion in the area of determining whether or not a pupil has finished the required courses and possesses the qualification necessary for issuance of a diploma. However, ". . . when it has been determined (by Courts) that all the prescirbed requisites have been met, the issuance of a diploma is a ministerial act which is mandatory."[12] It is also a general rule that courts will not interfer with governing bodies of educational institutions unless it appears that the denying of a diploma is clearly unreasonable and arbitrary.[13]

The first legal case that brought to focus and question the accountability and responsibility of school districts to properly and fully educate children according to set standards occured in California. The case appeared in a California trail court under the name Doe v. San Francisco Unified School District, Civil No. 653-312 (Sup. Ct. of San Francisco, Cal., filed Oct. 31, 1973). On appeal the name of the case changed to Peter W., v. San Francisco Unified School District 60 Cal. App. 3rd 814, 131 Cal. Reporter 854, (1976). A review of the basic and pertinent facts of the case are as follows[14] Peter Doe attended the San Francisco public school system under the State of California's compulsory school attendence laws.[15] Peter was administered and I. Q.

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[12] Ibid., p. 137.

[13] Ibid., p. 137.

[14] "Schools and School Districts - Doe v. San Francisco Unified School District, Tort Liability for Failure to Educate" Belle Hind Gordon. Loyola University Law Journal: 6 (462): 462-481 (1975).

[15] California Education Code 12101 (West 1969).

test by the San Francisco Unified School District, which showed that he had a slightly above average I. Q. Peters' attendence record was average, and he was never a serious problem as far as discipline. Peter's mother made inquiries about her sons educational progress during his elementary and high school years. Her inquiries were met with assurances by teachers, as well as by school administrators. She was told that Peter was performing at or near his grade level, and that no special or remedial instruction was needed. Peter graduated with his class receiving a high school diploma after twelve years of schooling. Peter claimed however that he was functionally illiterate, and although he held a high school diploma, his reading, writing, and mathematical skills were those of a child in fifth grade. Peter claims he was prepared to function only in the most menial of occupations, and this was true despite the fact that throughout his school years he was completely educable. Tutoring in the subject fields of reading, writing, and mathematics have met with rapid progress since Peter began tutoring classes. Peter initiated an action in tort against defendents, the San Francisco Unified School District, the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools. The reasoning of the action was the failure to use reasonable care in educating Peter, and failure to meet that standard of professional conduct contemplated by sections 1601 of the California Administrative Code, and 7504 of the California Education Code.

> Cal. Educ. Code 7504 (West 197)
> (Ammended 1974) provides:
>
> "The Legislature hereby recognizes that it is the policy of the people of the State of California to provide an educational opportunity to every individual to the end that every student leaving school

> should be prepared to enter the world of work; that every student who graduates from any state-supported educational institutions should have sufficient marketable skills for legitimate remunerative employment; and that every qualified and eligible adult citizen should be afforded an educational opportunity to become suitably employed in some remunerative field of employment."

The plaintiffs first count alleges that the defendant school district and its representatives failed to use reasonable care in providing plaintiff with adequate instruction, guidance, counseling, and supervision in the basic academic skills. Another court charges that defendant school district was given the duty of instructing student in basic skills of reading and writing, and failed to discharge its duties assigned by the constitution and laws of the State of California. Plaintiff is seeking to require educators to exercise competence and reasonable care in instructional matters in accordance with the professional and statutory standards mentioned in the California Educational Code. The plaintiff uses as key arguments the fact that Section 7504 of the Education Codes codifies the educational policy of the State of California: "state-supported institutions should provide every graduating student with sufficient marketable skills for legitimate renumerative employment." Section 1601 of Title V of the Administrative Code provides model minimum standards for high school graduation -"200 semester periods or the equivalent in time or content and competence in reading and mathematics at an equivalent of no less than 8.0 grade placement." The above statue was in effect while Peter received his education, but was repealed in 1973 by the State Board of Education. The State Board of Education adopted a new model of skills necessary for students to attain prior to graduation in April of 1974. The standards and requisites for graduation has been delegated to the local school governing boards.[16]

The Doe case is unique in that it has been brought in tort law rather than for a violation of a protected constitutional right.[17] A tort is defined as a "civil wrong, other than a breach of contract, for which the court will provide a remedy in form of an action for damages."[18] The primary element in a tort action for negligence is to prove the existence of a duty of care owed to the injured party or to the class of which he is a member.[19] The tort action will lie only if a duty imposed by legislative enactment or judicial decree was in fact violated, and the violation resulted in an injury to a person for whose benefit the duty was created. If the court recognizes the violation and subsequent duty, it will give effect to the obligation which one individual owes to another under a particular standard of care. The plaintiff in the Doe case was seeking damages of $500,000 for lost wages due to limited occupational opportunities and additional costs for private tutoring services.

At the (trial court level) Superior Court of California the defendants responded to all of the plaintiffs allegations and complaints with a demurrer.[20] The trial court sustained the demurrer, and the plaintiff appealed his case to the Court of Appeal, First District, Division 4. The next section will deal with the Doe case on appeal, and whose name changed to Peter v. San Francisco Unified School District.

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[16] Cal, Educ. Code 8574 (West 1972).

[17] "Schools and School Districts- Doe v. San Francisco Unified School District Tort Liability for Failure to Educate" Belle Lind Gordon. Loyala University Law Journal: 6(462): 462-481(1975).

[18] W. Prosser Law of Torts 2 (4th Ed., 1971).

[19] Rowth v. Quiva 20 Cal. 2d 488, 127 p. 2d 1 (1942).

[20] A demurrer is an allegation that, even of all the pleaded facts are true, the suit must be dismissed for failure to state a cause of action. Blacks Law Dictionary 520(4th ed. Rev. 1968).

On appeal the Doe case is sited as Peter W., v. San Francisco Unified School District 60 Cal. App. 3rd 814, 131 Cal. Reporter 854, (1976), and the Court listed the following facts from the lower court as pertinent to its decision. High school graduate brought action against city school district, seeking to recover for alleged negligence and intentional misrepresentation on part of school district which deprived him of basic academic skills. The Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, Ira A. Brown, Jr., J. dismissed the suit, and the graduate appealed. The Court of Appeal, First Applellate District, Rattigan, J., held that the complaint failed to state a cause of action for negligence or for intentional misrepresentation in tort law. The decision of the lower court was affirmed.

The court of appeal reviewed the trial courts fact findings which constituted 14 points of legal focus.

"1. Appeal and Error

On appeal from judgement dismissing action, question is whether cause of action is stated in any part of complaint.

2. States

Governmental liability for negligence is the rule, and immunity the exception. West's Ann. Gov. Code, 815.2 (a).

3 Pleading

To state a cause of action for negligence against public entity, every fact material to existence of its statutory liability must be pleaded with particularity. West Ann. Gov. Code 815.2 (a)

4. States

Public entity may be held vicariously liable for conduct of its employees only if it is established that employees would be presonally liable for conduct complained against upon some acceptable theory of liability. West's Ann. Gov. Code. 815.2 (a).

5. Negligence

Allegations requisite to cause of action for negligence are: fact showing duty of care in defendant; negligence constituting breach of such duty; and, injury to plaintiff as proximate result.

6. Schools and School Districts

Public authorities have duty to exercise reasonable care for physical safety of students under the supervision.

7. Negligence

Term "duty of care" is not term of common parlance, but rather, is legalistic concept of duty which will sustain liability for negligence upon its breach.

8. Negligence

Whether defendant owes requisite duty of care in given factual situation so as to make him liable for negligence presents question of law, which is to be determined by courts alone.

9. Negligence

Judicial recognition of duty of care in defendant, with consequence of his liability in negligence for its breach, is initially to be dictated or precluded by considerations of public policy.

10. Schools and School Districts

Since classroom methodology affords no readily acceptable standards of care, science of pedagogy is fraught with different and conflicting theories of how children should be taught, and achievement of literacy in schools is influenced by a host of physical, neurological, emotional, cultural, and environmental factors which affect pupils subjectively beyond control of teachers, and school boards do not have "duty of care" to be certain that students attain basic academic skills.

11. School and School Districts

High school graduate's complaint which stated that he had suffered injury as result of school board's negligent failure to provide instruction in basic academic skills, failed to state cause of action.

12. Schools and School Districts

Failure of educational achievement is not "injury" within meaning of tort law.

13. Schools and School Districts

Statutory enactment setting forth various administrative requirements for informing parents of educational progress of children, and for evaluation of student's progress, are directed to obtain optimum educational result but are not protective and do not act as safeguards against "injury," and thus violation of such enactments imposes no liability for failure of duty. West's Ann. Education Code, 1053, 8002, 8505, 8573 et seq., 10759 WEst's Ann. Gov. Code 815.6.

14. Schools and School Districts

Although high school graduate's complaint alleged that school district and its employees had falsely represented to his guardian that he was performing at or near grade level in basic academic skills, that he was infact not performing at grade level, and that upon graduation he had only eight grade level of academic achievement, complaint did not state cause of action for "intentional misrepresentation" where there was no allegation that there had been reliance upon alleged misrepresentation."[21]

The issue as the Court of Appeal stated it was,

> "The novel - and troublesome - question on this appeal is whether a person who claims to have been inadequately educated, while a student in a public school system, may state a cause of action in tort against the public authorities who operate and administer the system. We hold that he may not."[22]

The court's rationale was based on the 14 points of legal focus outlined previously in which the cause of action for negligence had to be pleaded in particularity in every part. The three parts consisted of

1. Fact showing duty of care in defendent
2. negligence constituting breach of duty
3. injury to plaintiff as a proximate or direct result of breach of duty.

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[21] Peter W., V. San Francisco Unified School District 60 Cal. App. 3rd 814, 131 Cal. Reporters 854 (1976) pp. 854 & 855.

[22] Ibid., p. 855.

The court focused on the last two points. Breach of duty was discounted because the courts exercised descretion because of public policy considerations and the problems of social utility of the activity out of which injuries would arise. The court felt that it would be difficult, to implement a "workable rule of care" in the social context. The court discounted injury to plaintiff as a proximate result of breach of duty by its rationale in point 10. The court found that the plaintiff failed to state a cause of action within the meaning of tort law ans affirmed the trial courts decision. The plaintiff should have exercised the opportunity to amend his complaint in the 20 day period allowed for by the trial court, and chose another section of legal procedure.

Although the student's right to sue school districts failed in the above case, this does not mean that future suits outside of tort law would not be successfull. The immunity doctrine concerning public school districts was over turned in Pennsylvania in 1973.[23] A similar trend could develop around the "failure to educate issue" if courts feel the rights of the individual should outweigh all public policy consideration in future reviews.

In turning to the legality, and fairness of competency testing programs, an article in Phi Delta Kappan by M. S. McClung suggests that the publics demand for accountability in teaching and learning basics skills, has resulted in an unfair shift of the burden of poor performance from schools to students.[24] With the rise in number of school districts across the country requiring proficiency or competency testing as a pre-requisite for graduation from high school and indepth review is needed to insure legal and fair implementation. The author feels that,

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[23] Ayala v. Phil. Bd. of Ed., 453 Pa. 584; 305 A 2d 877 (1973)

[24] "Are Competency Testing Programs Fair? Legal?" Merle Steven McClung Phi Delta Kappan: 59(6) 397-400 February 1978.

> "Many of the programs incorporating this requirement (competency testing) however, are designed and/or implemented in an inequitable manner and some may be illegal."[25]

The authors offers four areas of future legal and fairness concerns.

1. Inadequate phase-in periods
2. Inadequate match between test and instruction
3. Racial discrimination
4. Model Program provisions

Inadequate phase-in periods would occur where students who have spent 10 or 11 years in the school system under certain curriculums of learning are required to take a test in which they have received no prior training in subject matter making up the test. The competency test is designed to measure and assure minimal competency after 12 years of schooling. The author raises the issue that legal rights may have been violated where,

> "Traditional notions of due process should require prior notice of any rule that could cause irreparable harm to a person's educational or occupational prospects . . . notice after most of one's educational program is already completed clearly seems inadequate."[26]

The author also felt that in terms of fairness a school's curriculum and instruction should be matched in some way with whatever is going to be measured by the test. Competency tests should contain curricular validity and instructional validity. Curricular validity is the measure of how well test items represent the objectives of the curriculum. Students should not be denied diploma's if the curriculum was not designed to teach functional competency. Instructional validity is whether the school districts stated objectives were translated into topics actually taught in districts classrooms. Here the issue of teacher accountability is very important, and raises the legal and educational issues as to their responsibilities for communicating the desired subject matter. The author also points out that content validity does not insure instructional or curricular validity. In summary the author concludes,

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[25] Ibid., p. 397.

[26] Ibid., p. 397.

> "A school or school system that cannot assure the curricular and instructional validity of its competency tests should not use a basis for denying promotion or a diploma to any of its students."[27]

The author also feels that (APL) adult performance level tests that have been adopted,are also unfair and subject to legal scrutiny because they measure adult life-role skills that were never taught in schools, and then are used as a basis for denying a diploma.

The author deals with the racial discrimination aspect of competency based education by reviewing it's effect on the desegregation issue.

> ". . . some black parents in desegregation communities see a racial motive behind competency testing. . . competency testing was introduced to protect standards. The effect can be resegregation within the school according to test results. . ."[28]

The author also utilized the case of Washington v. Davis 96 S Ct. 2040 (1976) to outline the fact that federal courts have held that practices that carry forward the effects of prior racial discrimination are prohibited. The Davis case dealt with a police personnel test that maintained the disproportionate racial impact, and was evidence of a discriminatory purpose. The author concludes that the natural consequence of most competency testing programs will be racial differentiation. The Supreme Court in Washington v. Davis found that federal statutory law provided stronger standards for fair testing than the federal Constitution. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibited discrimination in employment, provided for an effect rather than a purpose standard. If a test or practice disqualifies substantially proportionate numbers of Blacks in hiring and promotion decisions

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[27] Ibid., p. 398.

[28] Ibid., p. 398.

> "Title VII shifts to the employer the burden of validating the test practice in terms of job performance" (that is to show that the test or practice, is sufficiently job related)."

Under the model program provisions the authors major point is that single criterion evaluation of students, teachers, and public education as a whole sells the public short. The danger that the minimal standards may become the maximums always exists. Finally four points of conclusion are reached concerning competency based education.

1. The test should not measure what the school never taught
2. Any functional competency test, and the curriculum on which the test is based, should reflect all aspects of our pluralist society.
3. A lengthy phase-in period is needed.
4. A model program would provide for multiple learning; evaluation and remedial opportunities.[29]

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[29] Ibid., p. 399.

If competency based education is to reflect the educational process then it must remember that learning is a two-way street. A model program would provide for students and educators to share the responsibility for performance, as opposed to placing the full burden on students.

In summary the implementation of competency based education in Pennsylvania may give rise to much litigation if the programs are not implemented in ways to avoid the pit-falls mentioned in the text of this paper. Since only one case (Doe Case) has come before the courts dealing with the accountability of school districts to educate, it is too early to predict with assurance which way the courts will go in the future. If periodic tests and measurement were a requirement as suggested by Merle Steven McClung in "Are Competency Testing Programs Fair? Legal?" then court might be reluctant to excuse negligence.[30] The Doe case might have turned out differently if the plaintiff would have amended his complaint and brought suit in another area of law.

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[30] Ibid.,p. 399.

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SCHOOL FINANCE REFORM THROUGH THE
JUDICIAL PROCESS:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE COURTS' POLICY-MAKING ROLE
IN CHANGING THE SYSTEM FOR
FINANCING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

School finance reform is not a new concept. In the latter part of the nineteenth century most state legislatures provided a flat grant per pupil and then again in the first part of the present century most states established the foundation program in addition to the flat grant. A fundamental principle directing the reformation then and now of the method for financing public education is the states' concern and responsibility to provide all students a reasonably equitable educational opportunity.

There is a difference, however, between school finance reform efforts of today with those of the past. Traditionally, educational questions have been resolved for the most part within the political -- not the judicial -- arena. It was considered solely the state legislature's responsibility to enact finance plans that were politically, economically, and socially acceptable. Today, however, though the state legislatures maintain plenary power over education, efforts to reform school finance schemes are being made through the court system. What was once considered an issue that was purely political in nature has now been extended into the judicial arena as well.

The focus of my paper is upon the courts' policymaking role in the area of school finance reform. Reform, as used in this context, refers to the efforts being made to eliminate inter-district disparities in per pupil expenditures within a state. Efforts to change existing state school-finance statutes, i.e., to eliminate inter-district disparities, through the courts have been considerable.

The United States Supreme Court decision in San Antonio Independent School District v. Robinson[1], finding the Texas finance scheme constitutional, removed the federal courts from this controversy and left reform efforts to the state courts and legislatures. Many state courts, persuaded by Rodriquez, have ruled likewise in their own jurisdictions. But so far, three state supreme court rulings -- California[2], New Jersey[3], and Connecticut[4] -- have found the respective school finance schemes unconstitutional. Because of the importance of these cases to educational policy, this paper is limited to a discussion of the federal court case (Rodriquez) and the three aforementioned state supreme court cases. In addition, however, because of the important insights offered by Justice Thurgood Marshall in Rodriquez, his dissenting opinion is also included in the analysis.

My purpose for writing this paper is to demonstrate the degree to which each of the courts was willing or felt obliged to engage itself in establishing new policy for financing our schools. The manner in which this purpose is served is a comparative analysis of the courts' responses to two important education-related questions. 1) Is education to be considered a fundamental right? 2) Do the existing inter-district disparities discriminate on the basis of wealth; and if so, should such discrimination be considered suspect?

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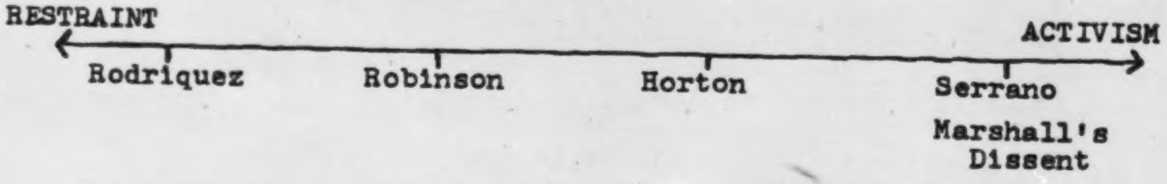
[1] 411 U.S. 1 (1973), rev'g. 337 F. Supp. 280 (W.D. Tex. 1972).

[2] Serrano v. Priest, 5 Cal. 3d 584, 96 Cal. Rptr. 601, 487 P. 2d 1241 (1971). This first ruling is termed Serrano I. A final ruling, Serrano II, 135 Cal. Rptr. 345, 557 P. 2d 929 (1977).

[3] Robinson v. Cahill, 62 N.J. 473, 303 A. 2d 273 (1973). This ruling affirmed a lower court decision, 118 N.J. Supp. 223, 278 A.2d 187 (Law Div. N.J. 1972).

[4] Horton v. Meskill, Connecticut Supreme Court decision reported in Connecticut Law Journal, Vol. 38, No. 42 (April 19, 1977), pp. 1-17. This ruling affirmed a lower court decision, 31 Conn. Sup. 377, 332 A. 2d. 113 (Hartford County Superior Court 1974).

In order to see more clearly the contrastive viewpoints adopted by each court decision, I have placed each case where I think it belongs along a continuum, the extremes of which are judicial restraint and judicial activism. Generally speaking, this continuum from left to right represents the increasing degree to which the courts were willing to affect educational policy.



For purposes of this paper the meaning of judicial restraint is found in the words of Justice Brandeis (Supreme Court Justice 1916-1939):

> The court will not...decide questions of a constitutional nature unless absolutely necessary to a decision of the case.
>
> The court will not formulate a rule of constitutional law broader than required by the precise facts to which it is to be applied.
>
> The court will not pass upon a constitutional question although properly presented by the record, if there is also present some other ground upon which the case may be disposed of....
>
> The court will not pass upon the validity of a statute upon complaint of one who fails to show that he is injured by its operation....
>
> When the validity of an act of Congress is drawn into question, and even if a serious doubt of constitutionality is raised, it is a cardinal principle that this court will first ascertain whether a construction of the statute is fairly possible by which the question may be avoided....[1]

Basically, judicial restraint dictates that 1) the courts' jurisdiction over various issues be interpreted narrowly to assure that political issues are resolved by the legislative and executive, not by the judicial, branches of government and 2) when court decisions are unavoidable, the court should exercise moderation and judicial parsimony, doing only what is necessary to adjudicate the case. In contrast, a judicially active court 1) is willing to become much more engaged in the political processes of government and 2) uses the particular case before it to expose more general policy problems; such a court engages in major policy-making and problem-solving.[1]

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[1] These statements are quoted in Herbert Jacob, Justice in America: Courts, Lawyers, and the Judicial Process (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), pp. 209-210.

As noted above, the majority opinion in Rodriquez adhered to Brandeis' dicta, concluding that there was no basis for finding the Texas finance scheme unconstitutional. Robinson, on the other hand, found the New Jersey finance scheme unconstitutional but not on constitutional grounds such as equal protection, fundamental right, and suspect classification; it relied instead upon a narrow interpretation of the education provision in the state's constitution. Horton also relied upon Connecticut's constitutional education provision and then, almost as an after-thought, addressed the constitutional questions of equal protection, fundamental right, and suspect classification. Serrano and Marshall's dissent clearly established their decisions solely upon constitutional grounds.

In the sections below I discuss 1) education as a fundamental right; 2) inter-district disparities as a form of suspect classification; and 3) in the conclusion implications for educational policy resulting from the manner in which the courts responded to the above questions.

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[1] Donald L. Horowitz, The Courts and Social Policy (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1977), p. 9.

SECTION I:

EDUCATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT

A major question addressed by the courts was whether or not education should be treated as a fundamental right. The importance of this answer lies in the following rationale. In the four cases, the plaintiffs made the claim that their right to education was protected under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and/or the individual states' equivalent equal protection provisions (see appendix). There are two tests that have evolved under which one's right to equal protection can be adjudicated: the strict judicial scrutiny test (popularized during the Warren Court[1]) and the rationality test. The latter simply states that if the state has a good reason for a particular statute, then the statute is constitutional. The former is much more complex. If it can be shown that a person is being deprived of a fundamental right and/or that he is being discriminated against on the basis of a 'suspect' classification (discussed in the next section), then the court can apply the strict scrutiny test which places the burden of proof on the state to show a compelling interest for enacting and enforcing a particular statute.[2] The court that uses the strict scrutiny test is clearly much more enmeshed in policy questions and policy-making than the court that finds the rationality test appropriate.

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[1] John L. Coons, "Recent Trends in Science Fiction: Serrano Among the People of Number," Journal of Law and Education, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January, 1977), p. 160.

[2] Ibid., pp. 160-161.

> Strict scrutiny analysis has been criticized due to its potential for usurping legislative power. Also, the rational basis standard has been chastized because of its leniency and characteristic judicial 'hands off' posture.[1]

Where a fundamental interest is found and, accordingly, the strict scrutiny test is applied, those persons who are adversely affected certainly have the advantage over the state in being awarded a favorable ruling by the court.

> In cases where strict scrutiny is applied, the challenged law is almost surely invalidated; where the rationality formula is used, the law is usually upheld.[2]

With this background information, I can proceed with my analysis of the court opinions on the question of the fundamental right of education.

RODRIQUEZ: Reversing the lower federal district court's decision and exercising a maximum degree of judicial restraint, the United States Supreme Court did not find education to be a fundamental right and, consequently, applied the rationality test. Although other rights such as voting, traveling, access to counsel, and so on, which are not contained in the Constitution, have been elevated to a status of fundamentality, the majority decided to delineate very narrowly in reference to education the criteria for determining what rights are fundamental.

> Thus the key to discovering whether education is 'fundamental' is not to be found in comparisons of the relative societal significance of education as opposed to subsistence or housing. Nor is it to be found by weighing whether education is as important as the right to travel. Rather, the answer lies in assessing whether there is a right to education explicitly or implicitly guaranteed by the Constitution.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 161.

[2] David R. Lipson, "Serrano v. Priest, I and II: The Continuing Role of the California Supreme Court in Deciding Questions Arising under the California Constitution," University of San Francisco Law Review, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Spring 1976), p. 713.

[3] Rodriquez, 411 U.S. at 33.

> Education, of course, is not among the rights afforded explicit protection under our Federal Constitution. Nor do we find any basis for saying it is implicitly so protected.[1]

Since education was neither explicitly nor implicitly guaranteed by the Constitution, it could not be considered fundamental. Accordingly, the Supreme Court believed that the appropriate test for this case was the rationality test for which the state had only to show good reason for its finance scheme. The state's reason was based on the importance attributed to local control over education.

> Local control is not only vital to continued public support of the schools, but it is of overriding importance from an educational standpoint as well.[2]

The Court tread very lightly in making a distinction between the societal and/or individual importance of a particular interest on one hand and on the other hand whether or not that interest is constitutionally guaranteed. Though citing Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka that "education is perhaps the most important function of state and local government" and that no "child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education,"[3] the Court was still not willing to effect a major change in educational policy by declaring that, merely because of its significance, education is a fundamental right. From a legal perspective, 'importance' does not constitute fundamental interest; this the majority opinion made very explicit.

> The importance of a service performed by the State does not determine whether it must be regarded as fundamental for purposes of examination under the Equal Protection Clause.[4]

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[1] *Ibid*., at 35.

[2] *Ibid*., at 49

[3] Quoted from Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954) at 493 in Rodriquez, 411 U.S. at 29-30.

[4] Rodriquez, 411 U.S. at 30.

ROBINSON: Like the United States Supreme Court, the New Jersey Supreme Court was just as unwilling to accept education as a "fundamental right" for purposes of applying the strict scrutiny test to the state's equal protection clause.

> We hesitate to turn this case upon the State equal protection clause. The reason is that the equal protection clause may be unmanageable if it is called upon to supply categorical answers in the vast area of human needs....[1]

In one respect, the New Jersey Court exercised even more restraint than did the United States Supreme Court. As for the test that if education is explicitly provided for and protected under a constitutional provision (as is the case in New Jersey - see appendix), then it can be considered fundamental, the Court explains to the contrary that it does not "matter that the service is expressly mandated by our State Constitution."[2] The Court's reasoning is that all services categorized as "governmental," though provided at the local,municipal level, are furnished in fact pursuant to the obligation of the state. So, since all services are basically a state duty, one could not use the explicit/implicit test as an index of fundamentality without affecting a whole range of services, such as welfare, police and fire protection, and so on. The implications of all these services seeking preferred treatment under the aegis of equal protection could be disastrous for local government.

Therefore, rather than becoming entangled in the question of education as a fundamental right, the Court suggested a less stringent test than strict scrutiny but a more effective one than rationality in order to address the wrong; namely, the arbitrary test:

> Ultimately, a court must weigh the nature of the restraint or the denial against the apparent public justification, and decide whether the State action is arbitrary. In that process,

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[1] Robinson, 303 A. 2d at 283. [2] *Ibid.*, at 285-86.

> if the circumstances sensibly so require, the court may call upon the State to demonstrate the existence of a sufficient need for the restraint or the denial.[1]

The Court implicitly applied this test in its assessment that the New Jersey finance scheme was a "patchy product" which lacked specificity, failed to provide a thought-out statewide finance plan, and was insensitive to the state's constitutional mandate to provide a "thorough and efficient" education.[2]

MARSHALL'S DISSENT: Dissenting from the majority opinion of the Supreme Court in the Rodriquez case, Supreme Court Justice Marshall adopted an activist approach by reinterpreting the notion of fundamental right and suggesting a different set of criteria for determining what constitutes a fundamental right. Marshall believed that the "two-tiered" methodology -- strict scrutiny and rationality -- was inadequate to solve equal protection inquiry. He suggested an approach that might be termed the "nexus theory." Much more consideration, he felt, should be given to the constitutional and societal importance of the interest adversely affected and to the relationship (i.e., nexus) between the interest under consideration and those rights already guaranteed by the Constitution. Underlying the "nexus theory" was the assumption that education is very important to rights of free speech, voting, and so on.

> Although not all fundamental interests are constitutionally guaranteed, the determination of which interests are fundamental should be firmly rooted in the text of the Constitution. The task in every case should be to determine the extent to which constitutionally guaranteed rights are dependent on interests not mentioned in the Constitution. As the nexus between the specific constitutional guarantee and the nonconstitutional interest draws closer, the nonconstitutional interest becomes more fundamental and the degree of judicial scrutiny applied when the interest is infringed on a discriminatory basis must

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[1] Ibid., at 283.

[2] Ibid., at 297.

be adjusted accordingly.[1]

> The factors just considered, including the relationship between education and the social and political interests enshrined within the Constitution, compel us to recognize the fundamentality of education and to scrutinize with appropriate care the bases for state discrimination affecting equality of educational opportunity in Texas' school districts.[2]

Such a theory obviously has broad implications not just for education but for other interests as well. Many other interests could easily claim a nexus with those rights constitutionally guaranteed.

SERRANO AND HORTON:

Likewise, in the cases of Serrano and Horton, there was no question that education was so important to and so valued by our society that it should be elevated to the status of fundamental right. Education was found to be a fundamental right on the basis of 1) its importance and/or 2) its provisions in the state constitutions (see appendix); accordingly, the strict scrutiny test was applied to the equal protection provisions of the California and Connecticut constitutions (see appendix).

In the case of Serrano:

> We, therefore, begin by examining the indispensable role which education plays in the modern industrial state. This role, we believe, has two significant aspects: first, education is a major determinant of an individual's chances for economic and social success in our competitive society; second, education is a unique influence on a child's development as a citizen and his participation in political and community life.[3]
>
> We are convinced that the distinctive and priceless function of education in our society warrants, indeed compels, our treating it as a "fundamental interest." Education is essential in maintaining what several commentators have termed "free enterprise democracy" -- that is, preserving an individual's opportunity to compete successfully in the economic marketplace, despite a disadvantaged background. Accordingly, the public schools of this state are the bright hope for entry of the poor and oppressed into the main stream of American society.[4]

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[1] Rodriquez, 411 U.S. at 103.

[2] *Ibid.*, at 116.

[3] Serrano, 487 A. 2d at 1255-56.

[4] *Ibid.*, at 1258-59.

And in Horton:

> The repeated statements in our cases concerning the importance to the state of educating its children...make inevitable the conclusion that the right thus created by article eighth, section 1, of the Connecticut Constitution is a fundamental right (see appendix).[1]

There are some interesting differences in the approach taken by Serrano and that taken by Horton to this question of fundamental right. The California Supreme Court made very explicit its position vis-a-vis that of the United States Supreme Court. First, Serrano justified its use of the strict scrutiny test for purposes of adjudicating this equal protection suit:

> Our state equal protection provisions, while "substantially the equivalent of" the guarantees contained in the United States Constitution, are possessed of an independent vitality which, in a given case, may demand an analysis different from that which would obtain if only the federal standards were applicable.[2]

The only restrictions placed upon the California Supreme Court are 1) that its interpretation not restrict the guarantees accorded the national citizenry under the United States Constitution; and 2) that those fundamental rights defined by the United States Supreme Court need be "followed by California courts only when they provide no less individual protection than is guaranteed by California law."[3] Second, the California Court rejected the sole use of the explicit/implicit test suggested by the United States Supreme Court. Whether a right is explicitly (as is the case of education in California - see appendix) or implicitly contained in the constitution is insignificant; the Court would apply strict scrutiny to legislative classifications which, "because of their impact on those individual rights and liberties which lie at the core of our free and representative form of government, are properly considered 'fundamental'."[1]

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[1] Horton, 332 A. 2d at 119.

[2] Serrano, 557 P. 2d at 950.

[3] _Ibid_.

The tone of the Connecticut Supreme Court was more restrained. The Court focused only on the right of education and justified that at least "in Connecticut the right to education is so basic and fundamental that any infringement of that right must be strictly scrutinized."[2] The fact that education is explicitly provided for in the State constitution is only minor justification for treating it as a fundamental right. More important is the fact that the education provision, added in 1965, is a constitutional recognition of an interest that has been regarded as a fundamental right since 1650 when legislation to establish schools in Connecticut was first adopted.[3]

CONCLUSION: To conclude this discussion, at the far end of the restraint-activism continuum, Rodriquez was able to avoid the complexity of the fundamental right question 1) by interpreting very narrowly what constitutes fundamental rights; 2) by applying the less stringent rationality test; and 3) by rechanneling this question back to the state courts. The reasons for the Supreme Court's restraint are many; they revolve around the issue of federalism; the principle of separation of powers; the fear of entanglement into complex, political questions that the courts are in no position to resolve; the hesitancy to decide constitutional questions unless absolutely necessary; and so on. One important contribution by the High Court was its suggestion to employ the explicit-implicit test. Though this test impeded the federal judiciary's involvement, it did pave the way for the state courts; the Supreme Court did support change and provide the mechanism for it at least at the state level.

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[1] Ibid., at 952.

[2] Horton, Connecticut Law Journal, p. 11.

[3] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

Robinson, realizing the importance of education and the inequities of the present system, felt the need to redress the wrong without creating even more chaos. Certainly, the Court could have treated education as a fundamental right (it is explicitly provided for) and, accordingly, applied the strict scrutiny test. Instead, believing the strict scrutiny test too strong and the rationality test too weak, the Court suggested the arbitrary test which could still resolve the inter-district disparities at a low level of constitutionality. The Court avoided the constitutional questions by adjudicating the case only on the basis of the educational clause. This approach eliminates the possibility of undue demands being made upon the equal protection provisions by other public services and, at the same time, still gives education a slight advantage in vying for limited resources.

Located nearer the activist end of the continuum, Horton reasoned education to be a fundamental right, at least in Connecticut. It was clearly a value cherished down through Connecticut's history; full recognition of its fundamentality was ultimately codified in the State's Constitution.

And finally, at the extreme end of the continuum, Serrano and Marshall's dissent considered education so important and so vital that there could be no question of its fundamentality regardless of whether or not it is provided for in the constitution.

SECTION II:
WEALTH DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION AS A SUSPECT CLASSIFICATION

The second question is whether or not the existing inter-district disparities, which is a type of wealth discrimination, should be classified as suspect. Recall that to adjudicate an equal protection case in which the strict scrutiny test is applied requires the presence of one of two conditions: 1) a fundamental right is involved and/or 2) a person or group of persons is invidiously (injuriously) being discriminated against on some irrelevant basis such as race, sex, age, wealth, and so on. If a person is being deprived of a fundamental right because of some type of discrimination, then that discrimination is usually considered suspect and, accordingly, the strict scrutiny test is applied to the equal protection clause.

The wealth discrimination in this paper refers to that situation in which poor districts, though taxed at a high property tax rate, expend less for education per pupil than wealthier districts. The plaintiffs contend that those students on whom less is being expended are being invidiously discriminated against by the state. What the plaintiffs have to prove is that they form a class of people being discriminated against along lines of wealth (i.e., because of their poverty) and, as a result of the discrimination, being injured by the system that allows such inequitable treatment. There are two issues then to be resolved by the courts: 1) identification of a poor class and 2) proof of injury. Both issues are subject to a broad range of interpretations, as the following discussion points out.

RODRIQUEZ: As with the fundamental right issue, so with this question, the majority of the Supreme Court exercised a considerable degree of judicial restraint. In the first place the Court believed it had too little understanding of who the individuals were that constituted the poor class that was allegedly being discriminated against. Are those individuals poor persons whose incomes would place them in a poverty category and who could be characterized as indigent? Are they a group of individulas who are only relatively poor when compared to others? Or are they a group of individuals who, irrespective of incomes, happen to reside in a relatively poorer school district?[1] Citing several precedents,[2] the Supreme Court concluded that wealth discrimination was to be considered suspect only in situations where the plaintiffs are indigent (the first question above); that is, only when those individuals are absolutely unable to pay for services to which they are entitled. The Court, unwilling to deal with wealth in terms of relative differences, could apply only judicially manageable standards that were absolute. For example, if a school district were comprised of only indigent persons and lacking sufficient property values, with the result that it was incapable of operating a school system, then wealth discrimination might be considered suspect; then perhaps it could be shown that the finance system invidiously discriminates against the poor. But, as the Court argued, not all poor persons live in poorer districts. So the Court concluded that no clear-cut discrimination could be found against an identifiable poverty class.

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[1] 411 U.S. at 19-20.

[2] Griffin v. Illinois, 351 U.S. 12 (1956) permitted an indigent criminal to acquire a transcript of trial proceedings to be used in his appeals process.

Douglas v. California, 372 U.S. 353 (1963) established an indigent defendant's right to court-appointed counsel.

Williams v. Illinois, 399 U.S. 235 (1970) prohibited incarceration simply because of one's inability to pay a fine.

These cases are discussed in Rodriquez, 411 U.S. at 21-22.

The Supreme Court exercised just as much restraint in its consideration of injury. Again, absolute standards were imposed. In the precedents cited in footnote 2, page 15, absolute deprivation was the basis for ruling that injury was involved; accordingly, the wealth discrimination was treated as suspect. With the Texas school finance scheme, however, the Court emphasized that no student -- no matter how poor -- is being deprived of the right to education; the state has assured everyone a minimally adequate education.[1] In addition, the Court seemed to make injury dependent upon the relationship between educational costs and quality. Alluding to the fact that social science research is undecided as to the cost-quality relationship and unwilling to assume a positive correlation, the Court refrained from making a definitive statement about an injured class until the cost-quality debate is resolved.

> On even the most basic question in this area the scholars and educational experts are divided. Indeed, one of the major sources of controversy concerns the extent to which there is a demonstrable correlation between educational expenditures and the quality of education.... In such circumstances, the judiciary is well advised to refrain from imposing on the States inflexible constitutional restraints....[2]

MARSHALL'S DISSENT: Adopting an activist approach on this question, Justice Marshall counterargued the position of the majority: "In light of the data..., the conclusion that the school children of property poor districts constitute a sufficient class for our purposes seems indisputable to me."[3]

And as for injury to a particular class, common sense dictated to Marshall that, despite the conflicting testimony in the cost-quality debate, the wealthier districts have an advantage over the poorer districts in providing quality education. Further, the criterion for measuring the quality of education a student receives should not be based upon some output standard such as student achievement but only upon the input provided by the system.

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[1] Ibid., at 23-24.

[2] Ibid., at 43.

[3] Ibid., at 91.

> It is an inescapable fact that if one district has more funds available per pupil than another district, the former will have greater choice in educational planning than will the latter. In this regard, I believe the question of discrimination in educational quality must be deemed to be an objective one that looks to what the State provides its children, not to what children are able to do with what they receive.[1]

An one final point, Marshall placed the burden of proof upon the defendants to show that "these disparities do not in fact affect the quality of children's education."[2]

ROBINSON: The New Jersey Supreme Court affirmed the lower court's ruling that the finance scheme was unconstitutional but rejected its analysis of suspect classification. In contrast to the lower court's finding that the system discriminated both "against pupils in districts with low real property wealth" and "against taxpayers by imposing unequal burdens for a common state purpose,"[3]the High Court did not find wealth discrimination an issue in this case.

In regard to the first matter, the Supreme Court was very concerned about the delicate balance between state and local government. It was unwilling to change policy in such matters as disparities in local tax bases and districts' capacity to provide education; such differences, the Court maintained, are merely de facto and therefore permissible. And like the United States Supreme Court in Rodriquez, the New Jersey Court was not concerned with relative differences but only absolutes. The Court maintained that "wealth may or may not be an invidious basis for the imposition of a burden or for the enjoyment of a benefit... [but] it cannot be said to be 'suspect' in all settings."[1] As in the school finance system in which education is delegated to local government, all that can be said negatively about the system, according to the Court, is that expenditures for education as for other public services are merely "influenced by the size of the tax base"[2] of a district. (The emphasis is mine. The Court used 'influence' rather than a stronger term like 'determine' or 'function of'.)

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[1] Ibid., at 83-84.

[2] Ibid., at 86.

[3] Robinson, 287 A. 2d at 217.

> It is inevitable that expenditures per resident will vary among municipalities, resulting in differences as to benefits and tax burden. If this is held to constitute classification according to "wealth" and therefore "suspect," our political structure will be fundamentally changed.[3]

In responding to the lower court's argument for uniform taxation for a common state purpose, the High Court made clear that the tax uniformity provision[4] does not mean that a state function "may not be delegated to local government to be met by local taxation."[5] The Court rejected the argument that since education is a state function, then taxation for such state purpose should be uniform throughout the state. The tax provision would require uniformity only "if the state decides to handle a service at a State level."[6]

SERRANO: Though relying on the same precedents used by the United States Supreme Court in Rodriquez (see footnote 2, p. 15), the California Supreme Court concluded that the inter-district disparities did result in a wealth discrimination that should be found suspect; and, accordingly, it applied strict judicial scrutiny. It was clear to the California Court that educational expenditures are primarily a function of the assessed valuation of the school district.

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[1] Robinson, 303 A. 2d at 283. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] Property shall be assessed for taxation under general laws and by uniform rules. (N.J. Const. art. 8, sec. 1)

[5] Robinson, 303 A. 2d at 288. [6] Ibid.

> Plaintiffs contend that the school financing system classifies on the basis of wealth. We find this proposition to be irrefutable.... Over half of all educational revenue is raised locally by levying taxes on real property in the individual school districts.... As a practical matter districts with small tax bases simply cannot levy taxes at a rate sufficient to produce the revenue that more affluent districts reap with minimal tax efforts.... Thus, affluent districts can have their cake and eat it too: they can provide a high quality education for their children while paying lower taxes. Poor districts, by contrast, have no cake at all.[1]

The Court's responses to certain defendants' arguments are also indicative of its willingness to take a more active stance. Countering the argument that classification on the basis of wealth is constitutional as long as the discrimination is that of the district and not the individual, the Court concluded that both are equally invalid. Though the supporting precedents (see footnote 2, p. 15) related to the individual's absolute inability to pay for essential public services, the Court applied these precedents to a collective unit's (i.e., the school district's) relative inability to pay for comparable educational services. Thus, the injured, poverty class that the United States Supreme Court was not able to define became in Serrano all the students of less affluent school districts on whom less is being spent for education. And recognizing a positive correlation between educational cost and educational quality in the absence of undisputable proof to the contrary, the Court presumed injury when a right was only relatively denied. In short, inter-district disparities that are a function of district wealth are sufficient in themselves to prove injury to a particular class.

> We have determined that this funding scheme invidiously discriminates against the poor because it makes the quality of a child's education a function of the wealth of his parents and

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[1] Serrano, 487 P. 2d at 1250-57.

> neighbors. Recognizing as we must that the right to education in our public schools is a fundamental interest which cannot be conditioned on wealth, we can discern no compelling state purpose necessitating the present method of financing.[1]

Countering the defendants' argument that de facto (which implies unintentional) discrimination is legitimate, the Court emphasized that it is the result and not the purpose of a particular statute that must be taken into account. The Court clarified that prior court decisions "have invalidated classifications based on wealth [because of the discriminatory result] even in the absence of a discriminatory motivation."[2] And the Court went even further by concluding that de iure discrimination, not de facto, is really the issue in this case because governmental action in the form of zoning ordinances and other governmental land use controls "is the cause of the wealth classifications."[3]

HORTON: When Horton v. Meskill was decided (the Connecticut Supreme Court decision of 1977 affirmed the lower court's decision of 1974), it seems that a clearer understanding of the relationship between education and wealth had evolved. The Connecticut courts did not believe it necessary to identify an injured, poverty class and to set forth a legal rationale for finding wealth discrimination suspect.

> A low tax base in a given municipality does not, of course, mean that that municipality has a low per capita wealth. The plaintiffs, in other words, are not complaining that, under the present system, the children of poor parents live in towns with a low tax base and that, therefore, the present system discriminates against the poor.[4]

The wealth discrimination in education should not be compared to that found in cases already cited (footnote 2, p. 15).

> Educational equalization cases are "in significant aspects sui generis" and not subject to analysis by accepted conventional

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[1] Ibid., at 1244. [2] Ibid., at 1254. [3] Ibid.

[4] Horton, 330 A. 2d at 117.

> tests or the application of mechanical standards. The wealth discrimination found among school districts differs materially from the usual equal protection case where a fairly defined indigent class suffers discrimination to its peculiar disadvantage. The discrimination is relative rather than absolute.[1]

The two approaches taken by the Connecticut courts to redress the educational inequities are now discussed. With reference to the education clause (see appendix), the Court recognized the state's constitutional duty to provide education and the legislature's duty to implement this obligation by "appropriate legislation." The Court also accepted evidence that per pupil educational expenditures are largely determined by a school district's tax base and that a positive correlation exists between education input and education opportunity (i.e., the quality of educational services). Therefore, the Court concluded that 1) a system which does not account for the disparate financial capabilities of the individual districts but, to the contrary, allocates education on the basis of property wealth is irrational and 2) the legislation establishing such a system is not "appropriate."[2]

With reference to the equal protection provision (see appendix), the Court treated the wealth discrimination found among the districts as an "interference" (not suspect classification) to the fundamental right to education, a situation still requiring strict scrutiny, for which the state had to show a compelling interest. The Court rejected the state's compelling interest argument that its finance scheme achieved the legitimate objective of local control; for the Court maintained that other schemes could be adopted which would neither interfere with local control nor discriminate on the basis of wealth.

> Since that same objective [local control] may be achieved

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[1] Horton, Connecticut Law Journal, p. 10.

[2] Horton, 332 A. 2d at 117-18.

> without the discrimination of the present system, that objective may be achieved by "less drastic means" and is therefore no justification for interfering with the fundamental right to education.[1]

CONCLUSION: In summarizing this section's material, recall the distinctions made between judicial activism and restraint. The courts leaning toward activism are inclined to rule on constitutional issues; to engage in the political process; to make policy; and to seek solutions to major problems. Courts exercising restraint decide constitutional questions only when necessary; require proof of injury; and rule at the lowest possible level. Compare the following points.

1) An indigent class was interpreted broadly by the former; all students who were not in the more wealthy districts and, therefore, on whom less was spent constituted the indigent class. For the latter, no clearly defined indigent group could be identified.

2) Further, according to the former, injury was defined by inequities caused by differences in district wealth; if one student received less for education merely because of the lack of wealth of his district, he was being injured. According to the latter, particularly the United States Supreme Court, no injury was found since everyone received at least an adequate education. And in Robinson, though the New Jersey Court recognized the inequity of the system, it was unwilling to call it injury so as to avoid the constitutional question of suspect classification.

3) The assumption behind defining indigent class and injury in the above manner is that there exists a reasonably high correlation between district wealth, educational expenditures, educational quality, and educational output. On the other hand, the Supreme Court in Rodriquez was unwilling to accept this correlation, emphasizing

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[1] *Ibid*., at 113.

instead the inconclusiveness of the research. And though the New Jersey Court accepted the cost-quality relationship, it used this information not to prove injury but to establish criteria for a "thorough and efficient" education.

4) The former were inclined to accept evidence indicating that district wealth is related to individual wealth; for example, welfare and minority groups tend to live in poorer districts. The latter found such a correlation weak and unimportant; for districts consist of various groups.

5) The fact that some districts are less wealthy than others is not a chance circumstance, according to the former, but one designed and maintained by governmental action; the difference is de iure. In contrast, the latter regard such disparities as de facto.

6) Inequity is interpreted by the former in terms of relative and not absolute deprivation as in the latter.

7) Though the importance assigned to local control was insufficient reason (not compelling enough) for a particular finance scheme, nevertheless, the former believed that local control would not be jeopardized by the implementation of a more equitable system. In contrast, because local control and municipal government are deemed so important, the latter hesitated to do anything that might jeopardize the state-local government relationship. Underlying this thinking, of course, was the assumption that whoever holds the purse maintains control.

CONCLUSION

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL POLICY

This paper set out to demonstrate the degree to which each of the courts was willing or felt obliged to engage itself in establishing new policy for financing the public schools. Within the framework of judicial restraint and activism, the paper compared the courts' responses to two constitutional issues: fundamental right of education and inter-district disparities as a suspect classification. Rather than simply reiterate what has already been stated above, I conclude by contrasting the implications of the decisions for two educational issues: 1)priority of education over other public services and 2) remedies that will satisfy court criteria. For this analysis I use only Robinson and Serrano which represent respectively judicial restraint and activism.

The opinions of Robinson and Serrano demonstrate clearly the opposing viewpoints on whether or not education should be given priority over other services. Robinson had rejected education as a fundamental right and upheld the importance of local control and the legitimacy of the state's delegating responsibilities to municipal governments. The Court argued that other services are just as essential as education; and, therefore, it could not justify giving preferential treatment (assurance of statewide uniform expenditures) to education when other vital services are not given the same guarantee. According to the Court, the inequities that may result from delegating state duties are unintentional; they are a legitimate price to pay for the many benefits derived from local control and decision-making.

> We stress how difficult it would be to find an objective basis to say the equal protection clause selects education and demands inflexible statewide uniformity in expenditure. Surely

> no need is more basic than food and lodging...welfare is so singularly important....Essential also are police and fire protection, as to which the sums spent per resident vary with local decision. Nor are water and sundry public health services available throughout the State on a uniform dollar basis.[1]

In contrast, Serrano believed education to be unique among public services. And because of its uniqueness, education was both treated as a fundamental right and explicitly provided for in the constitution.

> Education is universally relevant. Not every person finds it necessary to call upon the fire department or even the police in an entire lifetime. Relatively few are on welfare. Every person, however, benefits from education....
>
> Public education continues over a lengthy period of time -- between 10 and 13 years. Few other governmental services have such sustained, intensive contact with the recipient.
>
> Education is unmatched in the extent to which it molds the personality of the youth of society. While police and fire protection, garbage collection and street lights are essentially neutral in their effect on the individual psyche, public education actively attempts to shape a child's personal development in a manner chosen not by the child or his parents but by the state....[2]

As for the second issue, the basis on which Serrano and Robinson adjudicated their respective cases is very different; accordingly, the remedies will differ. The former relied solely upon constitutional principles, such as equal protection, fundamental right, and suspect classification. On the other hand, exercising much restraint, yet trying to correct the inequities, the New Jersey Court focused solely on the constitution's education provision and more specifically the little understood phrase "thorough and efficient." It was the Court's conviction that whatever "thorough and efficient" did mean (the legislature had never explained it), the present finance scheme certainly was not providing it. The Court believed that "thorough and efficient" guaranteed at minimum a quality education "which is needed in the contemporary setting to equip a child for his role as citizen and as a competitor in the labor market."[3] Therefore, the Court required that the state 1) spell out explicitly the educational opportunity that it is constitutionally mandated to provide and 2) develop a more exact plan which will fulfill the state's continuing obligation.[1]

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[1] Robinson, 303 A. 2d at 284.

[2] Serrano, 487 P. 2d at 1258-59.

[3] Robinson, 303 A. 2d at 295.

What ultimately will satisfy the mandates of the courts is difficult to say. It seems, however, that since Serrano relied strictly on constitutional principles and Robinson upon the education clause, educational criteria will be less important to Serrano than to Robinson. Clearly, the focus of the two courts was different; Serrano emphasized equality and uniformity while Robinson stressed quality of education. Not concerned about setting standards for a quality education, Serrano demands only fiscal neutrality; that is, whatever is spent per pupil cannot be a function of the wealth of the school district (a negative standard). Robinson, on the other hand, has taken affirmative action, requiring the state to spell out the meaning of a quality and a thorough and efficient education. Which decision will ultimately have the greater impact on educational policy is difficult at this time to ascertain.

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[1] Ibid., at 297.

APPENDIX

United States Constitution Equal Protection Provision:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws, (Article XIV, Section 1, adopted in 1868).

California's Education Provision:

The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools by which a free school shall be kept up and supported in each school district at least six months in every year.... (Cal. Const. art. 9, sec. 1)

California's Equal Protection Provision:

All laws of a general nature shall have a uniform operation. (Cal. Const. art. 1, sec. 11)

No special privileges or immunities shall ever be granted which may not be altered, revoked, or repealed by the Legislature; nor shall any citizen, or class of citizens, be granted privileges or immunities which, upon the same terms, shall not be granted to all citizens. (Cal. Const. art. 1, sec. 12)

New Jersey's Education Provision:

The legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools for the instruction of all children in this State between the ages of five and eighteen years. (N.J. Const. art. 8, sec. 4)

New Jersey's Equal Protection Provision:

All persons are by nature free and independent, and have certain natural and inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness. (N.J. Const. art. 1, sec. 1)

Connecticut's Education Provision:

There shall always be free public elementary and secondary schools in the state. The general assembly shall implement this principle by appropriate legislation. (Conn. Const. art. 8, sec. 1)

Connecticut's Equal Protection Provision:

No person shall be denied the equal protection of the law. (Conn. Const. art. 1, sec. 20)

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THE ATTITUDE OF COLLEGE ENGLISH FACULTY TOWARD REMEDIAL ENGLISH: A PILOT STUDY

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I. Rationale:

Teaching remedial English courses is a task for which few college faculty are adequately prepared, either psychologically or professionally. All too often such courses are assigned to graduate assistants and junior, junior faculty. The very fact that seniority absolves one from teaching remedial English suggests that either such courses require less of a teacher in the way of knowledge and experience or that teaching such courses is such an unpleasant assignment that earning a schedule free of remedial sections is akin to passing Marine bootcamp.

Remedial English becomes, then, the province of a relatively young group of faculty who are only beginning to make their way up the rank and tenure ladder of higher education. What do these young instructors think about the job that has befallen them? Do they simply want to serve their time and move up, leaving remedial courses to those who take their place on the ladder's bottom rung? Or do these young instructors feel a sense of challenge and responsibility to the under-prepared students who have come under their tutelage? Are these young instructors finding themselves valuing the skills required to work with remedial students? Do they feel that the remedial courses they are teaching prepare students to succeed in college-level work? Are faculty investing the same amount of time in their remedial courses as in their college-level courses? Finally, do they feel there should be a pay-off in rank and status for faculty members teaching remedial courses, thus encouraging faculty to continue to build skill and experience in teaching remedial students?

While actually teaching remedial sections falls to the junior faculty whose attitudes about remedial English are to some extent formed from first-hand experience senior faculty's attitudes are also of interest. After all, it is senior faculty who hold the power to advance junior faculty. It is also senior faculty who by their very seniority become the shapers and perpetrators of values and attitudes that only the very bravest or most foolhardy faculty underling dares challenge. What value do senior faculty place on teaching remedial English? The very fact that few of them teach remedial courses is, of course, suggestive. Or is it? Might there be a discrepancy between actions and attitudes? Perhaps a more basic question to be asked of senior faculty is whether they feel that colleges and universities ought to admit students needing remedial work. And, if such students are admitted, is it the responsibility of the English department to prepare them for college-level work? In addition, the attitudes of senior faculty about how skill and experience in teaching remedial English should be regarded when considering junior faculty for promotion and / or tenure become vitally important, not only to the junior faculty in question, but also to the development and success of effective remedial programs.

The study that follows is a first step in finding answers to the preceding questions. Simply stated, the study develops and pilot tests a questionnaire designed to assess the attitudes of college instructors toward remedial English. Basic assumptions are that 1) college faculty do have definite attitudes about the subject of remedial English, 2) these attitudes are reflected in the amount of time, effort and commitment given to teaching remedial English or to promoting effective remedial English teaching, and 3) English faculty members answering the questionnaire will give basically honest responses.

II. Definition of Terms:

Two critical terms used in this study are "remedial English" and "attitude." Since both terms can be defined in a number of ways, a brief discussion of their meaning as used here is in order. "Remedial English"— A general definition of remedial courses is the following:

> Remedial courses in college are offered to students who are not academically prepared for college-level study—those of low ability or those who lack certain educational experiences. (Sharon, 1972, p. 60)

Sharon's definition applies to remedial English programs. Regardless of the actual content of such courses, the courses are to prepare students to meet a given school's criteria for admission to college-level study. Here's the rub, however. While one college may place emphasis on the student's ability to write a college-level composition, another school may emphasize his knowledge of grammar and mechanics. Thus, there is little agreement from college to college on the curriculum for the remedial English course.

The goal of remedial English courses is ground on which agreement can be reached, although even here there is some range. One study cites as goals for remediation: preparing students for more advanced study, developing students' capacities as completely as possible, and providing low achievers with a more general educational background. (Roueche, 1967) The previously cited Sharon provides what he refers to as the "specific and immediate" goals of remedial English courses:

> . . .to eliminate the weaknesses of students entering college in order to improve the chances that they will pass the subsequent regular course in the subject. Thus the goal of a remedial English course would be to help academically unprepared students pass the regular English course. (Sharon, 1972, p. 60)

In the following study the term "remedial English" will be used to describe any course offering of a college of university's English department having as a goal the preparation of students for college-level courses. Certainly a broad definition, but it need be so if the study is to consider instructor responses from a number of colleges and universities with differing remedial programs.

"Attitude"—Milton Rokeach distinguishes attitudes from values, explaining that "an attitude differs from a value in that an attitude refers to an organization of several beliefs around a specific object or situation." (Rokeach, 1973, p. 18) The definition of attitudes used for this study incorporates Rokeach's idea that an attitude is based on a cluster of beliefs about a given object or situation. A second element of the definition of attitude used for this study is that attitudes have both affective and cognitive components. While many sources can be cited to support either the affective or the cognitive element of attitude (Bogardus, 1933; Krech et al, 1962; Secord & Backman, 1964; Harvey, Hunt & Schroder, 1961; Rhine, 1958; Osgood, Suri & Tannenbaum, 1957; Anderson & Fishbein, 1965) the direct source of this element of a definition of attitude comes from Shaw and Wright:

> We prefer to limit the theoretical construct of attitude to an affective component which is based upon cognitive processes and is an antecedent of behavior. (Shaw & Wright, 1967, pp. 2-3)

A third element of the term "attitude" as it is used in this study is that attitude precedes and is related to behavior. The quote from Shaw and Wright cited above acknowledges the connection between attitude and behavior as does Gordon Allport's classic definition of attitude:

> An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. (Allport, 1935)

From the three elements of attitude just discussed, a working definition of the term "attitude" as it applies to this study can be developed. Thus, "attitude" is a cluster of beliefs about a given object or situation, having affective and cognitive components (i.e. feelings that are based on thoughts) that precedes and directly affects behavior toward the object or situation.

III. Review of Literature:

It appears from a review of the literature that this study may be a first investigation of the attitudes of college-level English faculty toward remedial English. To date most research in the area of remedial English has been concerned with evaluating the effectiveness of various programs. For instance, a 1967 study by Roueche found students from twenty different remedial programs could not with significant reliability be predicted to do well in subsequent academic work. (Roueche, 1967) Another study makes a strong case for the contention that remediation is ineffective, at least at Miami Dade Junior College where the data was collected. Students at that institution who took remedial English were indistinguishable in further course work from students who took no remedial English. (Losak, 1969) A third study adds a qualifier to Losak's findings, that is "low ability students would do somewhat less well in the regular course if the remedial course were omitted." (Sharon, 1972)

Certainly, assessment of the relative effectiveness of remediation is an obvious first step in researching the area, and the studies cited offer only a small sampling of research in this area. But after research on effectiveness is underway, it is time to begin to analyze those factors contributing to the effectiveness or unfortunately more often, the ineffectiveness of remedial English courses. The attitude of English faculty toward remedial English is one such factor.

Underpinning research into attitudes toward remedial English, or for that matter, any subject is the notion that there is some connection between attitude and subsequent behavior. Research supporting this assumption is abundant throughout the social sciences, including education. The theory is succinctly stated by perceptual psychologist Arthur Combs:

> Perceptual psychologists have stated, as a basic axiom, that all behavior is a product of the perceptual field of the behaver at the moment of the action. That is to say, how any person behaves will be a direct outgrowth of the way things seem to him at the moment of his behaving. (Combs, 1962, p. 50)

Among the research studies that establish a connection between a subject's attitudes and subsequent behavior is that of Azen and Fishbein. Results of the study show that subjects' intention to perform a given act can be predicated on their attitude toward that action. (Azen & Fishbein, 1964)

Another study is that of Alker, Rav and Hughes wherein subjects' "inner wisdon" (i.e. attitude and/or value) about the topic "the environment" was correlated with their decision-making about that given topic in an experimental setting. Results showed that in twenty-five out of thirty decisions made by subjects the decisions were consistent with the subjects' previously determined "inner wisdom." (Alker, Rav & Hughes, 1972)

A study by Michael Loupe supports the attitude/behavior connection, addding another dimension—that of time. His findings show that the greater a subject's commitment to a given task, the more time the subject will spend on that task. The inverse was also found to be true; the less commitment there was to a task, the less time spent on the task by the subject. (Loupe, 1972)

In a study of the relationship between college students' "self-concept behavior" and their academic achievement, Stevens found that students' perceptions of themselves correlate positively with their successful academic performance. (Stevens, 1956)

All of the studies reviewed above investigate the relationship between the subject's attitudes and his subsequent behavior. The next step in the connection between attitude and behavior is the affect that a person holding given attitudes about another person or group and behaving in a manner consistent with those attitudes has on those people. Following are several studies that explore this question.

The first study is the classic study of Lewin, Lippitt and White into the effect of the social climate created by the leader of a group on the behavior of the members in that group. In this study, the leadership style of "authoritative," "democratic," and "laissez-faire" leaders of boys' club groups was controlled by the nature of the experiment. Results of the study showed that the behavior of groups and individuals within groups was dependent solely upon leadership style. (Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939)

Another study supporting the idea that the climate created by a leader in a group situation affects behavior within a group is John Whithall's assessment of the social-emotional climate in a classroom. The assessment was done by categorizing teacher statements as likely to produce "positive" or"negative" feelings in members of the group receiving the comments. Findings of the study show that such categorization is a reliable way of measuring the social-emotional climate of a group. (Whithall, 1949)

A third study is the famous "Oak School" experiment by Rosenthal and Jacobson. In this study teachers of elementary school children were given the information that several randomly selected students from their respective classes could be expected to "bloom," (i.e. show marked intellectual and academic growth) during the upcoming school year. As predicted, the children who were expected by the teachers to "bloom," did just that, showing greater intellectual gains after the year than did children not expected to "bloom." These results strongly suggest that the teacher's expectations of certain students affected the performance of those students. (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968)

Keeping company with the famous researchers in the three previously cited studies are Davidson and Lang who conducted a study of elementary school students to determine the relationship between students' perceptions of their teacher's feelings toward them and their subsequent social and academic performance in the classroom. The correlation between the students' perception and their performance was a positive one with respect to both academic performance and classroom behavior. (Davidson & Lang, 1960)

A final study cited is that of Torrance which used adult subjects. This experiment involved aircrewmen and their instructors in a seventeen day survival course. Data was collected to determine if the aircrewmen's attitudes and behaviors about a survival food ration called "pemmican" would be consistent with their perception of the instructor's attitude and/or the instructor's actual attitude toward the product. The results of the experiment show a significant relationship between the aircrewmen's attitudes and behaviors and the actual attitudes held by their instructors. (Torrance, 1960)

IV. Design of the Pilot Study:

A. The Instrument (See appendix.)

A self-reporting inventory was developed for this study. Responding faculty are to respond to items according to the extent of their agreement or disagreement with the feelings or beliefs contained in each of the statements. Actual responses are scaled, and the response possibilities are "strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree."

The eighteen items on the self-reporting inventory are in the form of declarative sentences. These items are designed to collect information on six variables. Each of these variables is part of the "cluster of beliefs" that makes up an instructor's attitude toward remedial English. Table 1, below, lists these six variables and the numbers of items from the instrument eliciting information for each variable.

TABLE 1 Variables in Self-Reporting Inventory

Variable	Items
1. Remedial English requires teacher skill.	3-7-9
2. Remedial English requires teacher time.	5-8-12-15-18
3. Remedial English is effective.	2-4-6
4. College teachers are interested in teaching remedial English.	10-14-17
5. Teaching remedial English should be related to the rank and academic degree held by faculty.	13-16
6. Remedial English is a valid offering for college English department.	1-11

In addition to the keying of items with the variables comprising instructor's attitudes, items were also keyed to reflect the statement's positive or negative bias toward teaching remedial English. Table 2, below, reflects the positive or negative polarity that a "strongly agree" response to each item would give.

TABLE 2 Positive/Negative Bias of Items

Positive	1-4-5-8-9-12-15-16
Negative	2-3-6-7-10-11-13-14-17-18

The instrument also collects data about faculty respondents. Future use of the instrument may require the information requested. Respondents are asked to check categorical responses in the following areas: kind of institution, rank, age, highest academic degree, average number of remedial sections taught per year.

B. Limitations

By their very nature research studies have certain limitations. Studies relying on self-reporting inventories are all subject to the limitations discussed below. The major limitation of a self-reporting inventory is that such instruments can contain biased responses.

> Respondents may be biased not only by social desirability considerations but by a variety of other factors, such as a tendency to overuse the "true" or "yes" answer and the selection of one point on the scale using it as the response to every item. Others are inclined to avoid the extremes of a rating scale, thus shrinking the scale. (Tuckman, 1972, p. 190)

Another important limitation of self-reporting inventories is pointed out by M. Ray Loree who states: "One limitation of self-reporting inventories is that a person's behavior and his belief statements may not correspond." (Smith, 1971, p. 104) A third limitation applying to self-reporting inventories in general is that they lack the potential of a variety of individual responses that is provided by the interview form of data collection.

The particular instrument used in this study is subject not only to the limitations of its genre, but also to its own peculiar weaknesses.

The first of these is an imbalance between items that can be keyed positively and items that are negatively keyed. Eight statements are positive in the attitude toward remedial English that they suggest, and ten statements are negative. (See Table 2.) This imbalance might well reflect the researcher's own bias about college faculty's attitudes toward remedial English and may significantly affect the nature of the data collected.

Another limitation of this particular study is the scope of its definition of "remedial English." The assumption that English faculty's attitudes toward the subject are not affected by the nature of the remedial English courses that they teach and/or are familiar with is implicit in the design of this study. This implication may affect further data collection using the instrument, depending upon the kinds of remedial English programs represented in future data samples.

In addition, the following list represents comments, questions and suggestions to the researcher about the instrument's limitations from the respondents to the pilot study:

1. How should people who teach no sections of remedial English respond to the time questions?
2. Reliability checks are insultingly obvious.
3. There should be a question/s that gets at the boredom and frustration inherent to teaching remedial English.
4. Item 3 is ambiguous. It is stated in the passive voice; therefore, it is unclear whether the "insult" is intended by a superior or whether it is existential in nature.

5. Items # 1 and 11 are after the fact of a remedial student's admission to college in the first place. Perhaps there should be a question about whether such students should even be admitted to college.
6. Item #4 should include the comparison with regular admits. Neither the remedial course graduate nor the regularly admitted student is well prepared for college-level English composition courses.
7. What exactly is meant by "do well" in Item # 6?
8. Item #11 might include the possibility of a special department to meet the needs of remedial students.
9. One respondent insisted remediation by presented prior to college and added the comment, "Shape up secondary education!"
10. Item #16 should contain the addition of "providing he/she meets other criteria for promotion."
11. One respondent reported that his consciousness has been raised during the past two years. He wondered whether to respond out of his past experience or present enlightenment.

The respondents' numerous and thoughtful responses were appreciated by and researcher and were predictable from such a group of English faculty—a breed inclined to be ever-ready with red pencilled marginal comments!

C. Description of Pilot Study

English faculty members at Behrend College, a four year campus of Penn State University in Erie, Pennsylvania, were chosen for the testing of the instrument. All ten members of the English faculty at this semi-rural campus of approximately 1,500 students responded. Eight of the respondents are 31-37 years old; the other two are in the 38-45 age range. All but one faculty member has a Ph.D. degree and hold the rank of assistant professor. The one remaining faculty member has an M.A. degree and holds the rank of instructor. On average, the instructor teaches 3-4 sections of remedial English per year; two assistant professors teach 5-6; five teach 1-2 sections, and two faculty members teach no remedial sections.

Behrend's remedial English course consists of a blend of grammar, mechanics and composition. The school, therefore, is well chosen for the pilot study because it covers both major areas of remedial English. Approximately thirty percent of the six hundred entering freshmen test into the remedial English course on the basis of Penn State's system-wide entrance exam.

Copies of the self-reporting inventory were given to an English faculty member at Behrend College to distribute to the other members of the English department. Responses were made privately and the completed forms were returned either in person or by campus mail to the facutly person who had distributed them. The faculty member returned completed forms to the researcher.

Secrecy of responses was thought not to be a problem in this pilot study as the researcher was looking as much for faculty feedback on the clarity and appropriateness of items as for attitude information. In fact, such feedback was readily given to the faculty person distributing the forms. Many responding faculty also were anxious to give additional information about their feelings, frustrations and/or successes while teaching remedial English.

V. Analysis of Data and Discussion:

Tuckman states, "Item analyses are not as critical for the refinement of questionnaires as they are for the refinement of tests. Questionnaire items are usually reviewed for clarity and distribution of responses without necessarily running an item anlysis." (Tuckman, 1972, p. 199) No item analysis has been done on the results of this pilot study, although future refinement of the instrument may necessitate that the calculation be performed.

To date, analysis of pilot study data has consisted of tabulating the distribution of responses. This tabulation appears below in Table 3.

Table 3

Distribution of Responses

Item Number	SA	A	U	D	SD
1		5	2	2	1
2		1	2	7	
3	1	1		6	2
4		3		5	2
5	2	3	2	3	
6		2	6	2	
7		2	2	4	2

Item Number	SA	A	U	D	SD
8	2	6	2		
9		4	1	5	
10	2	4	1	3	
11	1	1	1	6	1
12			2	8	
13	1	1	4	2	2
14	1		1	7	1
15	1	5	3	1	
16	2	6	2		
17	1	6	1	2	
18	2	2	1	3	2

Table 3 shows a fairly broad distribution of responses for a pilot study sample as homogenous as the Behrend College English faculty. Three items show a clustering of responses; they are items 2, 12 and 14. A check of the variables represented by the items shows each item to represent a different variable. Thus, the clustering of responses may suggest a lack of discriminability of these items.

Another area in which the questionnaire needs improvement was pointed out by one of the respondents. Two faculty members in the pilot study teach no remedial English sections. Yet there are five items about the amount of time the respondent spends on remedial English courses. The two faculty members teaching no remedial English answered most of these items as "uncertain." The easiest solution to the problem is to solicit responses only from faculty who actually teach remedial English. The drawback to this solution is that it would eliminate from future samples many senior faculty. The importance of collecting information about the attitudes of senior faculty toward remedial English was discussed earlier. The solution that has occurred to the researcher is to mark the items dealing with the "time" variable with an asterick, and include the note that only faculty actually teaching remedial English respond to these items. Data collected on the "time" variable would then represent only that segment of English faculty actually teaching remedial English.

In addition to the items about the "time" variable there are several other items that are so worded as to seem applicable only to faculty actually involved in teaching remedial English. These are items 3, 7, 9, 10, 14 and 17. One such item, # 7, reads, "Teaching remedial English courses is easier than teaching my other courses." Interestingly enough the responding faculty members in the pilot study who teach no remedial English had no trouble responding to such items, expressing agreement or disagreement rather then the expected uncertain. The researcher feels, however, that future forms of the questionnaire should revise the wording of the previously mentioned items to eliminate the suggestion that these items only apply to faculty actually teaching remedial English.

Further assessment of the data collected from the pilot study reveals that, after ranking responses to each item with a score of five representing the most positive attitude toward remedial English and a score of one the most negative attitude, the ten faculty members in the pilot group had total scores ranging from a high of 72 to a low score of 40 out of a possible high score of 90. The mean score for the pilot group was 56.3.

Ranked responses to each item also were used to find the mean responses for each of the variables included in the questionnaire.

Table 4, below, contains response means for each variable.

Table 4

Mean Ranked Responses for Each Variable

Variable	Ranked Response Mean
Effectiveness	3.0
Instructor Interest	2.9
Rank/Degree of Remedial Instructors	3.6
Valid Offering	3.3
Time Spent on Remedial Course	3.3
Teaching Skill Required	3.4

In Table 4 preliminary data from the pilot study shows that the Behrend English faculty, composed largely of untenured assistant professors with Ph.D.'s score lowest on the attitude variable of"interest." The suggestion is that this English faculty considers teaching remedial English less interesting and important than other aspects of their jobs. The highest score was found for the variable seeking information on whether teaching remedial English should be tied to rank and academic degree. This suggests that, to this faculty at least, teaching remedial English is not beneath Ph.D.'s and that rank and tenure should not be denied those faculty teaching primarily remedial English.

The overall conclusion suggested by the pilot study is that oc inconclusiveness. From the pilot sample data, no dramatic insights into the attitudes of teachers toward remedial English are gained. Rather the tendency toward uncertainty about what their attitude is toward remedial English is reflected in the 3.12 mean score for all items.

Continued use of a revised form of the instrument developed for this study is in order. The small, homogeneous sample used for the pilot study cannot yield reliable data. Future research in this area must first identify a reliable sample population, then collect and analyze data from that population before any conclusions can be stated about the attitudes of college English faculty toward remedial English.

Several interesting questions might be explored in areas related to the study of faculty's attitudes toward remedial English. How do those attitudes affect instructors' behavior in the remedial English classroom? What correlation is there between the nature of remedial English programs in various colleges and the attitudes of English faculty at those colleges toward remedial English? And finally what correlation is there between an English faculty member's "competence" as an instructor of remedial English and his attitude toward that subject?

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APPENDIX

Instructor's Attitudes about College Remedial English

Kind of institution:
a. junior/community college
b. private college
c. state college
d. private university
e. state university
f. branch campus of a state university

Your rank:
a. part-time instructor
b. instructor
c. assistant professor
d. associate professor
e. professor
f. graduate/teaching assistant

Your age:
a. 20-24
b. 25-30
c. 31-37
d. 38-45
e. 46-55
f. over 55

Highest academic degree you have earned:
a. B.A. or B.S.
b. M.Ed.
c. M.A.T.
d. M.A.
e. D.Ed. or D.A.
f. Ph.D.

The remedial sections per year that you teach (average)
a. 0
b. 1-2
c. 3-4
d. 5-6
e. more than 6

1. I believe it is the responsibility of a college or university to provide courses for the remedial student.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

2. Remedial English students tend to be less interested and committed to the work of the course than students in my other courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

3. I consider being assigned to teach remedial English an insult to my intelligence and level of education.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

4. In a one term remedial English course most students can gain knowledge and skill enough to be adequately prepared for college-level composition courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

5. I spend at least as much time evaluating remedial students' assignments (worksheets, quizzes, tests, compositions, etc.) as I spend evaluating the assignments of my college level English students.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

6. Most students in remedial English courses will not do well in college.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

7. Teaching remedial English courses is easier than teaching my other courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

8. I spend at least as much time in one-to-one conferencing with remedial students as I do with students in college level English courses other than composition courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

9. I consider teaching remedial English to be as much of a challenge to my teaching ability as a college level English course.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

10. Teaching remedial English is less important to me than teaching my other courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

11. Teaching remedial English should not be the responsibility of a college or university English department.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

12. Remedial English courses require more of my time for preparation than do college level composition courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

13. Faculty members with Ph.D.'s should not have to teach remedial English.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

14. I resent being scheduled to teach remedial English.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

15. I spend at least as much time in one-to-one conferencing with remedial students as I do with college level English composition students.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

16. A faculty member whose primary duty is teaching remedial English should be eligible for the ranks of associate or full professor.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

17. Remedial English courses are less interesting to teach than my other courses.

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

18. Remedial English courses require less teacher preparation time than do my other course

strongly agree agree uncertain disagree strongly disagree

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

By

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In recent years there has been a new interest in conducting research on the politics of education. We have just begun to explore political behavior in education policy making and as yet no general operational theories have emerged. Nevertheless, there have been a substantial number of comparative case studies and surveys that focus on the same policy outputs (Curriculum, facilities, budget, etc.) and these studies have disclosed surprisingly uniform findings about who wields influence in American school politics. For instance, the political influence of the superintendent (and) or the bureaucracy) appears to dominate most spheres of urban and suburban school policy. The formal institutional description of powers and prerogatives would lead one to believe that the school board plays a more decisive role in school policy making. Indeed, research has shattered the mith of lay control of schools.

Mickael W. Kirst (Ed.). The Politics of Education at the Local, State and Federal Levels. (California: McCutchan Publishing, 1970) p. V.

This paper will review selected professional educational literature related to the politics of schools and education and compare it with the observations of Robert Bendiner's book Politics of Schools.

The paper will then address itself to the implications of the review of the literature and Bendiner's comments about politics and education for educational administrators.

POLITICS AND EDUCATION

Conant says the following about politics and schools.

> "There does exist a loose alliance of groups continually and very actively concerned with public school education. This educational establishment, as some have called it, is made up of organized school administrators, state department of education personnel, classroom teachers of various kinds, professors of education, and the executive staffs of such organizations as the school boards association and the parent teacher association. Because professional educators are generally committed to what might be called the "politics of consensus" these groups actively seek collaboration with each other. Any powerful new group that begins to make itself heard on educational matters can expect overtures from the establishment".(1)

Silberman agrees. Speaking about politics and schools he says the following.

"There are inevitably politicized, for whoever controls the gateways to affuence and social positions exercises political power, whether he likes it or not, and whether he is conscious of the fact or not".(2)

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(1) James B. Conant. The Education of American Teachers. (New York: McGraw Hill 1963),.pp. 15-16

(2) Charles E. Silberman. Crisis in the Classroom. (New York: Random House 1970, p. 69

Smith agrees.

> "The American school systems is a network of bureaucracies of vast dimension. Thousands of legally autonomous school boards administer districts that encompass 53,000,000 students and over 2,000,000 educators......... In the United States the democratic process is undergoing erasion. We are faced with increasing isolation and compartmentalization, as members of elite groups make the important (educational decisions".(3)

There seems to be some empirical evidence to support the accusations of Conant, Silberman and Smith.

Meranto studied the politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965.(4) He spent a year reviewing the circumstances and social forces behind the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

He says the following about the passage of this law.

> "The most fundamental finding that emerges from this endeavor is that the final passage of the school-aid bill cannot be explained by a single major change at the exclusion of others. The long-awaited proponent victory must be viewed in the context of several inertricably interrelated factors".(5)

Meranto claims thatthe victory of the democratic party in the 1964 election is one of the crucial components of the pattern. Federal aid to schools became a partisan issue.

He goes on to say.

> "Not only was the Johnson administration strongly committed to federal aid, but the President and his associates displayed considerable ingenuity in constructing the bill, working with key interest groups, and devising the strategy for guiding the proposal through the legislative process".(6)

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(3) Wilfred R. Smith. "Power Elites in American Society" in Schools in an Age of Crisis Robert Fisher and Wilfred Smith (Ed.) (New York: Van Nostrand, 1972, pp. 31-48

(4) Philip Meranto. The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967

(5) Ibid. p. 131

(6) Ibid. p. 132

The democrats wanted an "acceptable" bill. One that would gain the support of major organized interest groups: Catholics, Protestants, and the NEA. The proposal resulted in tremendous "political appeal". The entire process of drawing up the bill and mustering support was political.

In a related study of the politics of education in the states Zeigler and Johnson found that "educational outcomes relating to finances or expenditures, are largely determined by the economic indicators within a state, whereas noneconomic outcomes are more closely related to social and political variables.(7)

Wiley found that the forces and control of education come from three political organizations: 1)- State Legislatures, 2)- State Departments of Education, 3)- Local boards.(8)

It seems that as Eliot says:

> "Whole school systems have been blighted by the intrusion of certain aspects of politics, especially the use of patronage in appointments and contracts in apparent disregard of the need to give children the best possible education".(9)

He goes on to say.

> "Yet because school districts are governmental units and the votors have ultimate responsibility, school board members and school superintendents are engaged in political activity whether they like it or not. The standard professional terminology for this - a semantic triuph - is "community relations"; a successful superintendent, particularly, must be skilled in community relations. Why not say frankly that he must be a good politician".(10)

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(7) Harmon Zeigler and Karl F. Johnson. The Politics of Education in the States(New York: Bobbs-Merril, 1972) p. 186

(8) Tom Wiley. Politics and Purse Strings in New Mexico's Public Schools. New Mexico University of New Mexico Press, 1965

(9) Thomas H. Eliot. "Toward an Understanding of Public School Politics". The Americ Political Science Review, December, 1959. pp. 1032-1051

(10) Ibid.

Public schools seem to be politically organized, maintained and financed. The political umbrella that covers federal financing of education seems to cover state and local policies of educational planning growth and expansion too. That is, the federal funds that are directed to the states are in turn directed to local districts from state capitals with numerous political overtones.

Kirst says that between 1960 and 1970 the basic character of the typical federal assistance program changed from helping state or local governments accomplish their objectives with perfunctary general federal review, to using state governments as an administrative convenience under some explicit controls for accomplishing specified federal objectives (11) The state in turn was in a position to distribute funds to suit its (the state) partisan politics.

Grubb and Michelson illustrate this point:

> "First, significant inequalities in public school revenues exist at all levels of government - among states, among districts within states, and among schools within districts. Inequalities among districts is the result of inequalities in the local component of total revenue, state and Federal revenue decreasing inequality only moderately". (12)

How much political power do poor school districts have? How much political power do the rich ones have? Are the school boards of both made up of the same types of people? That is, which social class dominates the board of education at the state and local level? Can the term "politics" be kept out of public schools when so many of its inner workings are dependent upon human decision making and human resources?

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(11) . Michael W. Kirst. "Federal Aid to Public Education: Who Governs? " in Federal Aid to Education. (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1972) pp. 61-75

(12) W. Norton Grubb and Stephan Michelson. States and Schools. (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1974), p. 53

Kirby, Harris and Crain seem to answer these questions. They say the following about schools.

> "They must respond to a wide diversity of interests: civil rights groups, parents, students, businessmen, and anyone else who feels he or she has a stake in public education. The politically oriented superintendents do not support the traditional maxim that "education and politics don't mix". That education is and must remain "nonpolitical". They accept the fact that politics and education are already very much intertwined, and expect that they will have to take partisan stands on various issues.
>
> In the framework of community politics, a school system requires basically three things from the local political system: money, freedom from political interference, and a system of barriers to protect the school system from what it feels is undue pressure from various interest groups. This means that the school system desires, on the one hand, freedom from political ties, and on the other hand, the ability to call in political actors in its defense if the need arises. In order to obtain needed financial resources, the school system must have sufficient prestige and ability to persuade city officials and the voters to give it money. To be able to resist political interference and attract political support, the school system must have a network of contacts with government officials, political leaders, and civic leaders". (13)

It seems difficult to talk about public education and not include some references to the politics of education—the behind the scene tactics—the political strings that are manipulated for economic and human resources.

Robert Bendiner wrote a book on the subject of politics and education. He called it *The Politics of Schools—A Crisis in Self Government*.

This paper will now address itself to some of Bendiners observations and then state some of the implications of the brief review of the literature and Bendiner's book for school administrators.

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(13) David J. Kirby, Robert Harris and Robert L. Crain. *Political Strategies in Northern School Desegregation*. (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973) p.99

Bendiners book is divided into the following sections.

1)- School Boards - their variety - their background - functions - problems with courts - problems with the people

2)- Teacher Rebellion - New militancy - at the bargain table -

3)- Taxes - obtaining and spending of money

4)- Alternatives considered - let the states handle all financing of public schools

Bendiner neither totally supports nor completely assails the public schools. He is a journalist not an educator. The subject he wrote on is interesting and controversial. He provides interesting references to support his positions. In the main he surveys many of the problems that occur in the professional literature related to politics and education. His concentration in specific areas of politics in education adds some depth to his positions since the book offers few general statements without reference to recent data. He leaves little doubt the politics of schools are apparent but not to the extent that they are sabotaging the system.

For example he says the following about school boards:

> "Of all the agencies devised by Americans for the guiding of their public affairs, few are as vague in function as the school board, fewer still take office in such resounding apathy- and none other ironically, is capable of stirring up the passions of a community to so fine a froth." (14)

He goes on to say that they are "part-time, unprepared, and untrained, and are trying to cope with monumental problems." (15)

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(14) Robert Bendiner. The Politics of Schools A Crisis in Self-Government (New York: Harper and Row, 1969) p. 3

(15) Ibid. p. 40

In his brief but good history of school boards he points out their role, functions, structure and a general make up of their membership. The power of school boards in establishing school policies is almost monopolistic. They can create or destroy programs and expand of contract curriculum improvement. The rule of thumb as he points it out is for the school board to make policy and the executive, that is, the superintendent carries it out. In effect Bendiner says that most school boards have absolute power after election, and proceed to make policy that is subjective, personalized and all to often not in the interest of the community at large. They are a select group that can do with the schools as they see fit. The authors data related to school boards and the common people with reference to the racial issues clearly indicates that the power of school boards to manipulate thousands of human resources can depend on the authoritative role of one individual.

Although the school boards have been an intregal part of school systems in recent years they have been faced with several new problems. Bendiner calls one of them the new militancy of the teachers.- He says the following about the changing role of school boards:

> "It must not only pass on scores of such matters, as well as on affairs of great import, like salary schedules and grievance machinery, but it must as a rule haggle over them, dickering perhaps for weeks on end with a teacher organization, with professional negotiators often brought in from organization headquarters, and possibly with fact finders, mediators, and conciliators sent in by the city or the state."(16)

The new militancy of the teachers has brought the boards to the bargaining table and has required them to commit themselves to actions they may not be able to carry out, costing money they do not have and may not be able to raise. The politics of increasing taxes and challenging teacher associations to go out on strike has become a reality of modern education. To fire an entire faculty of teachers is political dynamite. If for no other reason who would replace them? Who can society fall back on to provide an immediate and effective educational system?

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(16) Ibid, p. 86

The teachers have become a strong political unit. They are organized and they have money. As educational items become "negotiable" the teachers are willing to play "political tricks" to achieve ends at the bargaining tables. Politicians themselves are pampered to amend state laws. Community leaders are convinced that the teachers want only the best for the children. Teachers are interested in strengthening their economic and social positions. Even in open defiance of the law they are prepated to explain their actions in "political terms". That is, the law is unjust. It must be changed.

All of the politics on the part of the board and the teachers ends up in the lap of the taxpayer in the form of a bill. Someone has to pay for it.

Bendiner calls the real estate tax or the property tax which is the supporting agent for public schools the tax that failed. The schools have been dependent upon financial assistance "that bears too little relation to family income and it singles out one form of taxable wealth, leaving others untouched".

It is unfair because it does not tax all Americans equitably: The elderly are on fixed incomes, the wealthy districts are rewarded, the poor are penalized. The quality of the total educational process is related to its financial input. Across the nation we find different school districts within states that have the same student population but drastic differences in available finances. As Bendiner says: "That disparity, as I have indicated, is now particularly sharp where it can least afford to be - between the impoverished central city and the bedroom communities that surround it".

One way of alleviating this situation is to allow the states to distribute educational funding on a par level to all districts within the state or promote decentralization and merging of school districts into uniformly funded districts.

It seems that Bendiner agrees with Raywid in that she says the following about education and political practices: "We do not wish so much to argue that such claims about education and schooling are wrong as that they are unwise".(17) The organization, staffing and functioning of a school system is a difficult task to much so that the individuals who work to keep it going are under constant stress. The political pressure makes it more difficult. It is time to take a long look at the system and recommend changes where they are needed. Politics has become important in determining educational policy at all levels of government.(18) If the politics of education begin to distort the objectives of schools: To educate children, then the proper role of the democratic process must be reassessed as it relates to public schools.

From the brief review of the literature and the observations of Bendiner on politics and education, what are some basic assumptions that can be listed?

Basic Assumptions About Politics and Education:

1- All school systems require money, freedom from political interference, and protection from the political system where they will operate.

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(17) Mary Anne Raywid. "The Politicalization of Education", in Educational Theory. Spring, 1973. pp. 119-132

(18) Wilber J. Cohen. "Policy and Politics in Education". School Review. November, 1973. p. 127-129

2- There does exist in American education loose alliances of groups who are actively concerned with establishing and maintaining a "politics of consensus" as it relates to education in their states, local communities and university training centers.

3- School boards are inevitably politicized as they attempt to obtain human and financial resources for their districts.

4- The distribution of federal funds to states funds to local districts have political overtones.

5- State Legislatures, State Departments of Education and local school boards seek "acceptable" means of implementing educational policies. This usually means working with key interest groups.

6- Public school teachers have organized and implemented political tactics to achieve desired goals.

7- The taxation process for public education is inadequate, unfair and ineffective.

8- There are several alternate methods of school organization, school board organization that might be considered for the improvement of public education.

What are the Implications for the Administrator?

The politics of education as far as the administrator is concerned focus on the following ateas:

1- Key interest groups within the community

2- School Boards

3- Teachers

4- Public taxation

5- Federal and State aid

6- Recommendation for educational change

Key Interest Groups and School Boards:

Any administrator who hopes for a successful relationship between himself and his superordinates, subordinates and peers must have a practical understanding of the above mentioned areas as they relate to the school district in which he is employed. He must understand the style, aspirations and objectives of his superordinates: Key interest groups and School Board. They will have perceptions of what is expected of the administrator and certainly will expect that these be fulfilled.

The administrator must obtain a perceptual scan of their values, expectations, beliefs, personalities and philosophies about education. Of course he can not please all of them but he can find out what will offend them. If his "administrative politics" avoids what they do not want - that is half of the battle.

The administrator must assert himself as a competent leader. He must prove that he can do the job and be willing to initiate programs and policies without "begging" or "feeling people out". But at the same time he must realize that the schools, and what is done in them, project out into the community. There are ears and eyes out there that are also scanning what is going on inside the schools. The school board and key interest groups always recieve subtle input about what is going on in the schools. It may not be in a formal sense but it can be just as harmful to the administrator.

If the political machine does not want "sex education" in the school and has made it clear that it be excluded the principal administrator must work with this in mind. He might formulate a personal approach to inform the board and the key interest groups on sex education. He may personally present programs to illustrate the "other side" of the issue without inserting it into the curriculum. This will not aggravate them. Maybe it will win them over.

All administrators have bosses. These people in authority yield tremendous political power. As such they must be a force to be reckoned with rather than a group to be antagonized. The administrator must work for them and with them in the best interest of education. He must recognize that they are a political group and as such they may behave politically rather than in humanistic or even rational ways. They can make him or destroy him and his best weapons are excellent leadership and competancies in fulfilling educational objectives to educate children.

Teachers:

Most administrators were teachers. They often speak of themselves as "teachers". There is some afinity between any group of teachers and their administrators and yet there is a "professional distance" between them.

The new breed of classroom teacher is intelligent, alert, informed and organized. He no longer "bows and begs" for what he wants but now he "demands" and "insists" on changes that will improve his lot. The administrator is sometimes caught in the middle between "staff loyalty" and "central office demands" when both groups perceive his job differently. In lieu of the tremendous political implications of teacher militancy and collective bargaining, how can the administrator best function in the tug-of-war that exists between boads and teachers?

First, the reality of collective bargaining for teachers is here to stay and the administrator will inevitably get involved in it. He must become proficient via seminars, course work and professional literature in the process of collective bargaining. The teachers bring in experts. The administration must match this.

Second, all school districts will be governed by contracts. The administrator must become familiar with this document and prescribe to the "rules of the game" as dictated by the binding contract. He must understand that most of the administrative policies between teachers and school districts are now governed by a binding contract.

Third, the administrator must realize that with the unionization of teachers the roles of administrators and classroom teachers have been clearly defined. They are in a converse relationship. Although the administrator may attempt to establish a very friendly relationship with his staff, as an administrator he is expected by his superiors to administer. This often means hard-line decision making that he personally would prefer not to get involved in. The reality of his role requires that he see to it that the contract is followed. This may sometimes mean not paying teachers for days pay, or not allowing a teacher to be released a half-day early to attend a conference.

Public Taxation and Federal and State Aid:

The public financing of education requires that the administrator develop competencies in all aspects of the financing of public education.

He must understand at the local level all sources of revenue. 1)- How the taxes are established, 2)- Collection of funds, 3)- School budgets, 4)- Dispersement of school funds.

With the increasing concern on the part of the taxpayers over higher taxes and more accountability for public spending the administrator must familiarize himself with the proper methods of spending public funds that are in the best interests of the children in the schools.

Tax increases must be justified. The administrator must know why a tax increase is needed. More importantly he must be able to provide resonable explanations to the public for these increases.

Budgets must be carefully worked out so that tax money is spent to pay staff, maintain plant facilities and fulfill specific educational objectives.

The administrator must work with limited funds and still be able to provide the best education possible. He must be knowledgable in the proper organization of a sound educational fiscal policy that is based on the expenditure of public funds in the best public interest.

The federal funds that have become increasingly available in the past decade can provide the school district with additional income. This money usually is designated for specific programs but it still means the expansion of learning programs. To obtain federal money requires the skillful writing of requisitions and an understanding of the technical language of federal aid. The administrator must fully understand the entire process of federal aid to the public schools. He must act in the best interest of his school district. These skills can be developed by, on the job training, formal classwork or professional seminars.

Recommendations for Educational Change:

Educational innovations have been important in the past and they certainly will be important in the future. This is not to say that change must be initiated only for the sake of change itself. Rather, the potential to implement meaningful change in the best interest of educational improvement is important.

Educational administrators are in the best position to bring about change. They have the positions of leadership and are look upon as being able to provide sound advice. As such they must remain knowledable in recent educational research and developments. They must examine evidence from research studies and suggest change in school policy only after careful consideration of the possible benefits in learning and teaching. Value judgements and intuitive "hunches" have no place in educational change. Empirical evidence must be provided to justify any attempts at change.

The professional journals, workshops and in service presentations will provide the administrators with a starting point for the investigation of change. He can develop a rationale for change and organize a proposal that suits an immediate school district need. If it is well thought out, objective and fortified by empirical evidence then the change he proposes is not for the sake of change itself but in the best interest of his district.

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IMPACT OF RESEARCH ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an investigation into the claim that the impact of educational research on educational policy-making is minimal. The central thesis is that such a claim is not adequately justified. Moreover, this claim has to be rephrased so that the hidden assumptions should be spelled out. Tracing back such assumptions leads the inquiry into an investigation of knowledge, decisions, and utilization. The whole design is put under a historical and philosophical perspective which highlights the central issues encountering the problem. The results of the inquiry lean towards the fact that research does affect policy, but the directions and magnitude of the effects are determined by the informational needs of the policy-makers and by the particular styles of decisions they follow. The main contribution of research to policy-making is seen as a sensitizing effect and a reformulation of policy issues rather than providing formidable solutions to problems. Factors detracting from a greater contribution of research to policy are seen to be embedded mainly in a gap created by differential perspectives of researchers and policy-makers. Future alliance between the two depends upon the efforts expended to narrow such a gap and the extent to which different approaches are used to broaden perspectives.

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THE IMPACT OF RESEARCH ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY

INTRODUCTION

An Overview

This paper is a willful excursion in the wild forest of research and policy. The old proverb[1] adds to the risk of the excursion: "To concentrate on the forest from afar, you miss the beauty of the individual trees; to go inside, you no longer see the forest."

The same dilemma has also been posed for the policy analyst by Robert Bish.[2] The analyst has to choose between two strategies: (a) to become more abstract and thus learn less and less about more and more (complex reality), or (b) to become more specialized in learning and understanding the details and thus learn more and more about less and less.

The moral is clear. Nothing could be intelligibly seen without a certain perspective; and every perspective, by definition, constitutes a loss of either some details or some level of generality. The writer, however, is disposed to concentrate on the forest, and the individual trees he might pass by in the walk will, hopefully, enlighten his purview of the forest.

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[1] Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education. (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 9th printing, 1958), p. 18.

[2] Robert L. Bish, "The Assumption of Knowledge in Policy Analysis." in Phillip M. Gregg (ed.), Problems of Theory in Policy Analysis. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976), p. 44.

No doubt, there is a voluminous literature on research. Policy studies, though a late comer in the academia, also enjoyed popular attention from the scientific community, and have been building up a dearth of literature in the past two decades. In fact, both research and policy, each one by itself, is a conceptual forest. The former, however, is not without some lanes and picnic resorts.

Research problems, or better meta-research enquiries, ranged from ontological endeavors (eg., the nature of reality, the nature of knowledge, consensus, conflict, etc.), to epistemological investigations (eg., objectivity vs. subjectivity of knowledge, knowledge claims, knowledge utilization, etc.), to moral and ethical pursuits (eg., value-free vs. value-laden knowledge, autonomy vs. politization of research, etc.). Policy studies, on the other hand, have been plagued with questions of values, goals, and objectives, alternative means of achieving objectives, and with political and economic constraints of achieving such goals and objectives. But as policy studies came to draw a lot from research methodologies and scientific canons, discussions in both fields overlapped in many important aspects and reflected earlier discussions in the fields of philosophy and philosophy of science. Questions of "objectivity vs. subjectivity," "value-free vs. value-laden research," etc., are in fact a new version of the old "positivist-non-positivist" controversy at the turn of the century. In fact, the controversy could be traced backwards to the seventeenth century doctrines of Descartes' "innate ideas" and Locke's "clean slate;" or even further back to the fifth century, B. C., controversy between the Sophists' idea of "man is the measure of all things" and Socrates' belief in the "objectivity of moral values."

In fact all the above issues are never temporally bound and they constitute recurrent themes in the history of ideas. As Churchman remarked:

> All this is but another example of the eternity of the dialectic,...The dialectics of idealism-realism, mind-matter, determinism-freedom are never resolved, but they may take on new forms or even richer forms if one accepts the Hegelian concept of progress. Indeed Hegel's own favorite dialectic, the specific vs. the universal, is a fundamental one in *this essay*.[3] [italics added]

The same image had also been seen by William James in his description of "pragmatism" as the same old wine in new bottles. The writer is thus inclined to think of the central issues of both policy and research in the same "old-wine-new-bottles" image, though the new bottles in this case might seem very much sophisticated due to technological advances and differentiation of products.

One pertinent example from the history of philosophy is in order. In "The Republic," Plato described the philosopher king as the one who shunned material things and aspired to the acquisition of knowledge and contemplation of pure truth. The story of the "allegory of the cave" is very insightful here. The message was that knowledge had something mystical about it. Knowledge was an abstraction, and that whoever completely identified with knowledge (truth) would find it difficult to communicate with those who did not possess knowledge (truth). Therefore, he would hate to come down from his solace retreat or place of elevation in order to communicate with the masses of the people down below.

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[3] C. West Churchman, The Design of Inquiring Systems. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971), p. 245.

This, then, was the dilemma of the philosopher king more than 2,000 years ago. Like a vector quantity he (the philosopher king) was acted upon by two forces: a heavenly pull and an earthly gravity. But physics was not advanced at that time and the psychic force had the upper hand. Thus the image of a philosopher king--both a philosopher (researcher) and a statesman (policy-maker)--fell into disrepute and since then both functions have been played by separate candidates, sometimes in alliance and sometimes in conflict. What is the status of the two professionals today? How do they relate to each other? This is the story to be told in this paper.

LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

Limitations

Though there is a systematic import in the literature for studies on both research and policy, separately, yet there is little cumulative base for studies in the relation between research and policy, especially educational research and educational policy. This is where the risk lies in the present study, and that is why the image of the forest and the trees becomes pertinent.

This constitutes the first limitation of the study. But in matters of research, so far as the admonition goes, a first step is better than no step at all.

A second limitation is found in the treatment of the topic itself. The writer's assumptions are, as such: (a) educational research is essentially a kind of social research, and (b) educational policy--as far as process and analysis are concerned--is part and parcel of public policy. Given both assumptions, the writer draws much from the literature on public policy rather than educational policy, and from social research in general more than educational research in particular.

Such treatment might do injustice to the present topic. But for reasons outlined later,[4] the writer had to forego the particular insights that might come out from a meticulous investigation of the topic exclusively from the pigeon-hole of the education industry. This also has to do with the writer's bias that meaningful educational reform/change has to be an interdisciplinary effort relying more on insights from outside social institutions and organizations rather than within-industry insight. This bias, however, is not without some plausible grounds in the modern literature of the social sciences.*

A third limitation is the general platitude: time constraint. The topic is very interesting, no doubt. But in such cases library research tends to be inflationary (on-going), given the availability of relevant material and a sustained effort and interest on the part of the researcher. The problem is, in fact, psychological. Nobody will help adhering to the Platonic dictum "follow the argument where it leads," unless, of course, he is either a god or an angel. Simply put, one has to stop somewhere sometime depending on the contingencies or the demands of the situation.

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[4] See pages 23=25.

*All efforts at integration (eg., the policy sciences) and interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary approaches are but a strong evidence for this case.

Delimitations

The topic, as it stands, seems too broad, too vague, and ambiguous. The independent variable "research," by itself, looks meaningless unless qualified by adjectival words like "educational," "political," "social," etc., or else be used as a qualifier as in "research methods," "research utilization," "research cumulation," etc. Thus, "research" in this paper has to be delimited to read the following:

By "research" is meant social research, and in particular that kind of research which is generally opposed to what is called "pure" or "basic" research (research having as its primary objective the pushing forward of the frontiers of knowledge), and which often goes, extensionally, by the names of "policy research," "evaluation research," "policy-oriented research," or "action research." Moreover, by research is intentionally meant that type of inquiry which is not limited to lower levels of institutional reform/change such as product or development research which comprise in educational settings research on curriculum, teaching methods, instructional materials, teaching aids, etc. However, whenever such research models are mentioned or their findings cited, they are meant to serve illustrative purposes rather than substantative core treatment.

The same thing would also apply mutatis mutandis to "policy." However, the dependent variable "educational policy" is very much within limits. Nevertheless further delimitations are in order.

In this respect, the writer makes use of Donna Kerr's[5] analysis of educational policy where four main categories are identified vis-a-vis content, method, resource, and distribution. A curricular policy involves a choice of content or the specific beliefs and values to be developed. A methodological policy involves the manner in which one attempts to develop the selected content, which ultimately rests on one's belief about the epistemological ordering of the selected content, the psychological ordering of the learner's mind, and the repertoire of pedagogical methods. A resource policy involves the institutional arrangements which provide the immediate context for the conduct of education. Such a policy involves, in essence, an economic decision because it is concerned with the relative resource priority or the regular allocation of resources to the institutions that undertake the conduct of education. A distribution policy involves the decision as to who will receive the educational benefits of the conduct of education. Such a policy involves, in essence, a political decision since it tries to answer the question: Who is to be educated? or, Who are the potential benefactors for the educative effort? (Cui bono?)

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[5] Donna H. Kerr, Educational Policy: Analysis, Structure, and Justification. (New York: David McKay Company, 1976). See Chapter II in particular.

In this paper, however, "educational policy" is going to be used in the latter two senses (resource and distribution). Moreover, according to Kerr,[6] educational policies are nested or embedded one in the other of the same category. That is, the innermost educational policies (curricular, methodological, resource, and distributional) at the teaching or school level are nested in similar ones at the district level which are in turn nested in similar ones at the province level, which are in turn nested in similar ones at the national or federal level. Therefore, whenever "educational policy" is mentioned in this paper, then it is used to refer to either one or both of the outer nests, i.e., national or/and state level.

Design, Methodology, and Research Problem

Recent discussions in policy studies and evaluation research endorsed the general conclusion that the influence of research on policy-making is minimal or outright negative. Policy-makers are said not to have made use of the findings of research, especially evaluation research, action research, or policy-oriented research. The prototype evidence in the United States is given in the findings of evaluation research of social-action programs, especially compensatory-education programs like Head Start, Follow-Through, and Title I programs of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Despite negative results, it was argued, monetary expenditure on and resource allocation to such programs continued. Evaluation research proposals (like proposals of peace researchers)[7] are described as being programs without a market.

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[6] Ibid., Chapter II.

This paper is not going to take sides per se in the controversy of positive-negative, or maximal-minimal, impact of research on public policy in general and educational policy in particular. Rather, it purports to give a sketchy answer to a more elementary question which must be presupposed by each faction in the controversy: What do we mean when we say that the effect of research on policy is minimal or maximal? Put otherwise: What knowledge utilization model are we assuming when we say research has little or no effect on policy?

To answer such a question will, hopefully, contribute to the nacent field of research utilization. But, more importantly, posing such a question will--in itself--contribute to the resolution of the controversy, or at least guide the efforts into the right direction. It is far better to have, as Richard Rose remarked, "an approximate answer to the right question, which is often vague, than an exact answer to the wrong questions, which can always be made precise."[8]

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[7] See Michael D. Wallace, "The Radical Critique of Peace Research: An Exposition and Interpretation." Peace Research Reviews, Vol. IV, No. 4 (February 1972), especially pages 26-30.

[8] Richard Rose, "Disciplined Research and Undisciplined Problems." in Carol Weiss (ed.), Using Social Research in Public Policy-Making. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977).

This paper adopts a descriptive research design which employs both deductive and inductive procedures. The writer's bias that education is primarily an interdisciplinary effort plays a great role in the choice of design and methodology. Since this endeavor is primarily a library research, no rigorous and sophisticated research tools like multivariate statistical techniques are going to be used. Nevertheless, scientific rigor (in the sense of following the scientific canons) would be adhered to where appropriate. However, philosophical analysis or logical tightening of arguments, personal jugement, and subjective scenarios constitute the main tools for the treatment of the present topic.

The plan of the paper falls into five chapters. Chapter II is an investigation of research, its meaning, kinds, problems and models. Chapter III treats policy, its meaning, the policy-making process, and policy analysis. Chapter IV draws together the main threads of Chapters II and III into a discussion of the nature of knowledge, knowledge claims, and knowledge utilization. Chapter V concludes by identifying the proper perspective of the problem, the missing links in the relation between research and policy, and the guidelines for a happy marriage in the future.

The excursion really seems to be hazardous: the ground is wet and slippery; the thorny trees mask behind them some wild and wicked beasts; and the distant horizon is threatening with rain and thunderstorms. It now becomes the task of the following chapters to identify the rainy clouds from the barren ones, tame the untameable, the wicked, the squishy and tenderly care for the problematic.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH

In this chapter I try to sketch and outline the undisciplined terrain of social-science research, its meaning, kinds, paradigms, models and problems, and then signal out for detailed treatment policy research, evaluation research, and educational research. The reasons for the latter decisions are obvious: on the one hand, our main concern is with educational research; on the other hand, much of social-science research which purports to have policy implications either falls within or overlaps with policy research or/and evaluation research.

Specifically, I am going to answer the following three questions: (1) What informational knowledge does social-science research in general and educational research in particular purport to convey? (2) How competent (judged by the standards of the research community) is social research in producing the informational knowledge it purports to convey? (3) What accounts for the success or failure of the informational knowledge production?

Definition

Nearly every book or article on research takes the meaning of research for granted, and directly plunges into a discussion of topics like research methods, research designs, problems of research, etc. Perhaps this assumes too much by ignoring the definition of such a fluid concept as "research." There seems to be, as Weiss noted, a proliferation of the uses of research, even within each accepted division or label.[9]

The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences describes research as the quest for new scientific or engineering knowledge.[10] Webster's Third English Dictionary gives the definition of research as a careful or diligent search, studious inquiry, or examination. A much-detailed description reads:

> Critical and exhaustive investigation or experimentation having for its aim the discovery of new facts and their correct interpretation, the revision of accepted conclusions, theories, or laws in the light of newly discovered facts, or the practical application of such new or revised conclusions, theories or laws.[11]

Thus research is a purposive investigation process which might be a purely fact-finding process, an interpretive process, a revisionary process or/and developmental process. In the context of society, all these processes assume a change function. Thus social research becomes a kind of research that is mainly concerned with changes in society. Whether change is primarily effected by factors within the system or society (functional or systems approach) or by factors outside the system (conflict approach), the task of research is to identify the variables that are related to change and, if possible, assign the relative weight each variable bears in relation to the change. But society, or more accurately individuals and groups within a society, may need to know more about the change, the level or magnitude, the direction, and the costs and benefits associated with the change. In essence, society is concerned with who gets what at what cost and with what effect. These questions ultimately probe into the meaning of existence and the worth of life. Thus social research is ultimately bound up with a philosophy of life. It is only arbitrarily that we put an upward bound to the level of investigation, mainly because of time constraints and practically because any piece of research or research topic under investigation constitutes a very minute piece or aspect of life and would not permit a higher generalization about the meaning of existence or the worth of life.

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[9] Carol Weiss (ed.), Using Social Research in Public Policy Making. (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977), p. 16.

[10] Jacob Schmookler, "Industrial Research and Development." International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 483.

[11] Webster's Third English Dictionary, p. 1930.

Paradigms and Models

The most widely accepted definition of paradigm in recent literature is the one given by Thomas Kuhn:

> A paradigm is a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners telling them what is important, what is legitimate, what is reasonable. Paradigms are normative; they tell the practitioner what to do without long existential or epistemological consideration.[12]

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[12] Thomas S. Kuhn, The Origins of Scientific Revolution. Quoted in Ray C. Rist, "Overview on the Relations among Educational Research Paradigms." Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2 (May 1977), p. 43.

If we endorse such a definition, we find that the power or pull of a paradigm is not restricted to a methodological orientation, but extends to a grasp of reality that gives it meaning and predictability. Ray Rist put it this way:

> When we speak of "quantitative" or "qualitative" methodologies, we are, in the final analysis, speaking of an interrelated set of assumptions about the social world which are philosophical, ideological, and epistemological. They encompass more than simply data gathering techniques.[13]

The dominant paradigm in social-science research is taken to be the scientific (positivist) paradigm of the natural sciences. This paradigm focuses on the necessity of applying empirical standards to social phenomena. As such, it is highly quantitative, emphasizes objectivity against subjectivity, value neutrality against normative considerations and methodological rigor against intuition and subjective judgment.

> Stated in this way, the paradigm governing quantitative methodologies is one derived from the natural sciences. Human events are assumed to be lawful; man and his creations are parts of the natural world.[14]

Associated with this paradigm is the belief that reality is consensual, that society is a system which derives towards equilibrium or self-maintenance through an internal force, homeostatis. So in the long-run and through incremental adjustments, the outskirts, or dissenting individuals, tend to regress towards the mean or join the general consensus.

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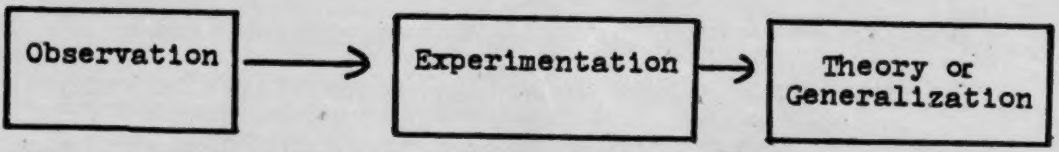
[13] Ray Rist, "Overview on the Relations among Educational Research Paradigms." Anthropology and Education, Vol. 8, No. 2 (May 1977), p. 43.

[14] Ibid., p. 44.

But this paradigm has recently been challenged both in its methodological as well as its substantive aspects. A paradigm shift has been in the making. One contesting paradigm is known as the conflict paradigm which contends that reality is conflictual, that change is comprehensive, and that the best methodological procedure is a triangular dialectic of thesis-antithesis-synthesis.

The dominant model of social-science research was derived from the dominant quantitative methodological paradigm. This model viewed the progression of knowledge as moving from observation to experimentation to theoretical development.



But discussions of assumptions, biases, and value clarification brought the scientific objectivity of observation and experimentation under heavy attack, and thus research communities came to speak about multiple paradigms and likewise manifold models. Ethnographic research, ethnomethodology, and theory-building research are but some of the new contesting models of social-science research.

Types

There are many types or categories of research in the modern literature. The typology is quite confusing and the classifications are not mutually exclusive. However, the most widely accepted classification is that between pure or basic research and applied or development research. The latter, however, is subdivided into many kinds, depending on the discipline (political, economic, educational, etc.), the purpose (policy, evaluation, implementation, etc.), the tools (quantitative, qualitative, etc.), or/and the sponsor of research (mission oriented, non-mission oriented, etc.).

Since we are mainly interested in that type of research that is opposed to what is generally called basic or pure research, and since the subdivisions of the former are very much overlapping, then we are going to single out those kinds of research which more or less represent and are more in line with the general topic under discussion.

Policy Research

The functions of basic research have often been seen as the pushing backwards of the frontiers of ignorance (extension of theory, concepts, and conceptual models), while those of policy research have been identified as the collection, analysis, and reporting of appropriate information to assist the policymaker in identifying and defining important policy issues.[15]

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[15] Dennis Spuck, et al, "An Introduction to Educational Policy Research," Education and Urban Society, Vol. 7, No. 3 (May 1975), p. 213.

Policy research, unlike all other kinds of research, is seen as directly focusing upon the immediate and program problems.[16]

> Policy research is inquiry which is focused directly upon questions which policy officials and their analytic staff want answered in order to enhance decisions...the study of any aspect of program operations which can guide decisions about programs.[17]

Another distinction along the lines of discipline and non-discipline research is made by Coleman. Research that is designed to contribute to knowledge in a substantive area and directly or indirectly contribute to theory is termed "discipline research" or "conclusion-oriented research." Research that is designed to provide information that is important to policy decisions that must be made is termed "decision-oriented research" or "policy research."[18]

Coleman lists some of the main distinguishing features of policy research, as opposed to discipline research, in the following:[19]

1. Policy research generally relies on partial rather than complete information.

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[16] Erwin C. Hargrove, The Missing Link: The Study of the Implementation of Social Policy. (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute, 1975), p. 67.

[17] Ibid., p. 10.

[18] J. Coleman, "Problems of Conceptualization and Measurement in Studying Policy Impacts," in Kenneth M. Dolbeare (ed.), Public Policy Evaluation. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 21.

[19] Ibid., pp. 22-26.

2. The ultimate product of policy research is not a contribution to existing knowledge in the literature, but a social policy as modified by research results.

3. Policy research variables are in three classes (independent, dependent, outcome), while those of discipline research are in only two classes (dependent, independent).

4. For policy research the research problem enters from outside any academic discipline and must be carefully translated from the real world of policy without loss of meaning.

Though policy research is generally seen as, more or less, a rational endeavor, yet there is almost a unanimous agreement that it contains a non-academic strain in it. Probably here lies the tension between the thorough-going hard methodists (academic researchers) and the more or less flexible methodologists (policy researchers).

But this is not the only source of tension or problem in policy research. In general the research community has a mixed feeling about the efficacy of policy research, though leaning more to its failure aspects than its success. There are methodological problems ranging from research design, to research procedures, to statistical measures that guard against threats to internal validity. There are also substantive issue problems of objectives, problem definitions, and generation of alternatives.

More specifically, policy research is said to have inherent problems because of the structure of the policy-research enterprise. The degree of control over the direction and activities of the research by the investigator himself is minimal because of the existence of an outside sponsor. Moreover, the practice of competitive bidding (Request for Proposal) in some policy-research enterprises encourages bidders to promise more than they can do by making their proposals more attractive.[20] Furthermore, the emphasis on short-term answers and the quick execution of studies discount from the quality of research.

Evaluation Research

There is no widely accepted definition of evaluation research. This might be due to the fact that evaluation, ideally, enters into every aspect of a research design or inquiry. So many types or categories of evaluation were identified. However, an implicit definition that runs in most evaluation research is the belief that evaluation is a rational endeavor and that it involves the application of the scientific method,[21] or some sort of social-science methodology. Bernstein and Freeman defined evaluation research as:

> ...the application of social-science methodology to the assessment of programs in a way that allows one to determine empirically their implementation and efficacy.[22]

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[20] James Fennessey, "Some Problems and Possibilities in Policy-Related Social Research," Social Science Research, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1972), p. 364.

[21] Joseph Wholey, et al., Federal Evaluation Policy. (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute, 1976), p. 19.

[22] Ilene Nagel Bernstein and Howard E. Freeman, Academic and Entrepreneurial Research. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975), p. 18.

There is a general agreement that the most important goal of evaluation is to serve as a policy instrument by providing information for decision-making about programs.[23] Thus two things become very crucial in evaluation: objectives and outcomes or impacts. Hargrove, distinguishing evaluation research from implementation research (policy research), relates:

> Evaluation is not the same as research on implementation because it usually concentrates upon ultimate program impact, without asking about the institutional means of achieving that effect or, in short, inquires into limited questions of program efficiency.[24]

The types of evaluations are very many and quite confused, depending on the nature of referrent or qualifier used. For example, if the referent involves time then we may have ex-post and ent-post evaluation; if organizational, we may have internal, external, input, product, and process evaluations. If it is highly structural, we may have summative and formative evaluations, and so on.

The dominant model of evaluation, however, is the discrepancy model which tries to measure the effect of a certain program by measuring the distance between its stated objectives and its accomplishments. However, there are variations within the model due to differences in operational designs and measurement tools. Nevertheless, there is a general agreement that the best design to follow is the one which would account for rival explanations to the desired conclusion that program effects are due to program intervention or treatment.

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[23] Carol Weiss (ed.), Evaluating Action Programs. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973), p. 14.

[24] Bernstein and Freeman, op. cit., p. 7.

Evaluation is becoming a growth industry; yet the results in the field are quite disenchanting. Wholey, et al, reported that the recent literature is unanimous in announcing the general failure of evaluation to affect decision-making in a significant way.[25] Meta-evaluations (evaluation of evaluations) studies, however, are a little reserved though leaning somewhat to the failure pole rather than the success pole. Bernstein and Freeman reported:

> But in any balanced assessment, given the considerable costs, the products of evaluation research have not made that much of a difference in the total picture.[26]

But McDill, et al, reporting on their work on evaluation studies of compensatory-education programs, slightly give evaluation the benefit of the doubt: "As might be expected, the quality of research is, to say the least, uneven, ranging from carefully conceived experimental designs to solicited testimonials."[27]

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[25] Wholey, et al., op. cit., p. 46.

[26] Bernstein and Freeman, op. cit., p. xi.

[27] Edward L. McDill, et al., Strategies for Success in Compensatory Education. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969), p. 5.

Educational Research

Educational research is a kind of social research, a cumulative systematic inquiry into the problems of change in education. But the status of research in education was not quite commendable. Summarizing the state of the art in educational research, Harold Howe II said:

> Education holds no monopoly in the field of poor research. Fuzzy work goes on in the sciences and other disciplines as well as in other professional fields such as medicine and religion. But I have the distinct impression that most of these other professional fields and practically all disciplines have managed better than education to recognize what is shoddy and what is not.[28]

Attributing the causes of failure and trouble with educational research, he said:

> People who can make a first-rate contribution to research on education, or anything else for that matter, come to the job with a first-rate set of tools and a disciplined way of thinking. I suspect that one reason for the abundance of second- and third-rate research about education is that many professionals work with dull tools, or no tools at all, or they labor in a state of confusion, attempting to use many tools simultaneously, without having mastered any.[29]

But the story has more to it than that: "Psychology has been for a long period the dominant disciplinary base for educational research, but for the most part its concern has been with the learning processes in childhood rather than with broader questions of educational policy."[30] As a result, educational research has been involved in the micro problems of the educational system. Problems of how students learn, what affects their retention power, what makes them deviants, participate, drop out, etc., were in the prototype research problems in education until recently.

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[28] Harold Howe II, "Education Research--The Promise and the Problem," Educational Researcher, Vol. 5, No. 6 (June 1976), p. 4.

[29] Harold Howe II, "The Trouble with Research in Education," Change, Vol. 8, No. 7 (August 1976).

In the last two decades, however, economics entered the scene of educational research. Though some macro economic studies were conducted (eg., Dennison and Schultze) concerning the productivity and share of education in economic growth, yet what was mainly introduced was the economic theory of the firm. Thus the grip of the micro level of educational research was made more firm and the ideographic nature of educational research was reaffirmed.

This diversion of attention from research on general systems level or program level was partly due to the absence of useful theories and partly due to the fact that the relatively perfected research tools of micro problems (operational definitions, manageability, statistical analyses, etc.) were found to be inappropriate or not well-adapted to the macro level.[31]

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[30] Howard G. Lennerster and Eric Hoyle, "Educational Research and Educational Policy." in William Taylor (ed.), Research Perspectives in Education. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 213.

[31] James Fennessey, "Some Problems and Possibilities in Policy-related Social Research," Social Science Research, Vol. 1, No. 4 (December 1972).

Though they confirmed the grip on and cogency of micro efficiency considerations in educational research, economic studies, however, had the virtue of alerting the mind and directing attention towards extra institutional or structural factors in the process of educational change. This latter consideration threw more light on the socio-political process of education and likewise the politics of educational research.[32] As previously mentioned, the negative results of evaluation research of social-action programs created a host of controversy as to the limits and politics of research.

The entry of sociology and political science in the field of educational research illuminated and highlighted the political dimensions of the educational process:

> Sociological research in education has emerged relatively recently. Its concerns have been broad....From the outset the sociology of education has had a much greater policy orientation than that of educational psychology....Overall it has been the work done by sociologists on education and opportunity which has had the greatest relevance to policy in the last two decades.[33]

These studies, using social-change theories, concentrated on broad-gauge change and policy aspects of the educational enterprise. The theories employed were of higher explanatory power, but difficulties in operationalizing concepts and choice of appropriate analytic techniques limited the expansion of empirical studies in such level. On the other hand, the micro studies following psychological and micro economic theories enjoyed much of the systematic import in the empirical literature, though not without some conflicting findings and results.

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[32] See, for example, Allan Ornstein, "The Politics and Limits of Research," Urban Education, Vol. 9, No. 2 (July 1974); W. Taylor, "Retrospect and Prospect in Educational Research," Educational Research Journal, Vol. 15, No. 1 (November 1972); and Carol Weiss, "The Politicization of Evaluation Research," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1970).

[33] Howard Glennerster and Eric Hoyle, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

Thus, so far, educational research has been characterized by the existence of multiple paradigms, by tensions in the different aspects of research and by a lower-quality research. Policy research and evaluation research, as we have seen, purport to supply information that is useful to the policy-maker, but the quality of research has also been low or at least uneven. Failure of research, in general, to cope with its claim has been mainly attributed to inadequate tools, concepts, and theoretical models[34] and to such structural variables as unordered priorities of research topics, inadequate funds, and absence of qualified manpower. The net effect was an oscillation between micro and macro levels of research and a complete absence of a middle-range theory that might have bridged the gap between the two kinds of research endeavor.

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[34] Torsten Husén, "Educational Research and the State," in Nger, Educational Research and Policy Making. (England: King Thorne and Stace, Ltd., 1968), p. 21.

CHAPTER III

POLICY

In this chapter we are going to investigate the field of policy--its meaning, the policy process, its models, policy analysis, and educational policy. The specific questions we are going to answer are the following:

1. What are the informational needs of the policy-maker?
2. How are these needs conceptualized (or reconstructed) in the different models of the policy process?

Definition

"Policy" is a very nebulous term. This might be due to the fact that it is more widely used as a dependent variable which needs to be explained rather than an independent variable which helps to explain other things. Webster's Third English Dictionary, however, gives the meaning as the following:

> ...a definite course of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions.[35]

Analytically, however, there are at least two meanings associated with policy: a) policy as a way of doing things or a decision rule, and b) policy as a program referring, specifically, to the content of what is being done rather than how it is being done.[36] The former use is called "administrative" or "procedural" policy and the latter is called "substantive" policy. But most writers on policy issues define the term in such a way as to refer to the goals and objectives as well as to the means chosen to effect these goals.[37] Martin Rich identifies policy in the following way:

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[35] Webster's Third English Dictionary, p.

[36] Lewis A. Froman, "Public Policy," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, p. 204.

> In terms of the normative aspects of policy, policy regulates classes of action rather than specific acts. It would not be in the interest of policy-makers to attempt to regulate the enormous number of specific acts performed by personnel in a large organization.[38]

In fact, many writers try to stretch the meaning and extend the parameters as far as possible. For example, Cohen and Gravet described policy in the following:

> A policy might be described as a grand story. A large and loose set of ideas about how society works, why it goes wrong, and how it can be set right.[39]

The Policy-Making Process

The empiric studies of policy-making is still in an infant stage. It was only after World War II that research was advancing and that attention was focused mainly on the process by which public policies are made rather than with their content.

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[37] Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content," in Austin Ranney (ed.), Political Science and Public Policy. (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968),p. 6.

[38] John Martin Rich, "The Dimensions of Educational Policy," Educational Studies, Vol. 7 (1976-77), p. 339.

[39] David Cohen and Michael Gravet, "Reforming Educational Policy with Applied Social Research," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 45, No. 1 (February 1975), p. 20.

Research has taken two directions on questions of public policy. The first, attempted to analyze in a critical fasion a particular public policy like agriculture or education, and would generally suggest either reforms in the existing policies or completely new types of policies. This approach took as its format a chronological ordering of events, describing the beginnings and changes in a particular program up to the present moment. The criteria for evaluating these things were often goals that the evaluator felt were, or ought to be, highly valued. That is, the major point of argument was generally the extent to which on-going policies deviated from important values or goals. Thus this approach was normative, past-oriented, problem-oriented, and, generally, incremental in change orientation.

The second direction, however, is more recent. It is also problem-oriented, but futuristic and comprehensive in time and change orientation, respectively. This approach attempts to think futuristically either about the consequences of on-going policies, or about the kinds of policies that would be appropriate given a certain set of conditions a number of years hence. In other words, this approach attempts to point out what might be a problem given certain hypothesized trends.[40]

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[40] Lewis A. Froman, "The Categorization of Policy Content," in Austin Ranney (ed.), Political Science and Public Policy. (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), p. 42.

— But the future is characterized with risks and uncertainties. Thus public policies are generally conceived as general guidelines which do not give detailed instructions on the lines of actions to be followed. "Policy-making," as Dror remarked, "decides major guidelines for action directed at the future mainly by government organs--these guidelines formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best-possible means."[41]

After the main lines of action have been decided upon, detailed sub-policies that translate the general policy into more concrete terms are usually needed. Thus public policy can be looked at as a continuous flow of more or less interdependent sub-policies dealing with many different activities. The clarity of these policies, the internal consistency of each one of them, and their compatibility with other policies, are of the utmost importance--likewise, is their scope in terms of the values and the time horizon they are concerned with, and their comprehensiveness in terms of the variety of activities they deal with.

But how does the policy-maker avoid threats to the clarity, internal consistency, and the compatibility of policies? He has to fall back on what is called "evaluation." Different criteria of evaluation could be used, but the most important are the political and economic feasibility criteria. The political feasibility of a policy is the probability that it will be sufficiently accepted by the various secondary decision-makers, the interest groups, the executors, and the public at large. Thus political feasibility depends on the power structure of society and the ability of the policy-maker and the policy itself ot recruit support.

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[41] Yehezkel Dror, Public Policy-Making Re-examined. (California: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 12.

The economic feasibility, on the other hand, is the probability that the resources needed to execute the policy will be available. These resources may be general, like money, or specific, like trained manpower, information, and materials.

Thus public policy-making must be evaluated in terms of the degree to which it satisfies the requirements of political and economic feasibility. After all, as Dror said, public policy-making is no more and no less than a tool to shape social reality.[42]

Models

There are many models of the policy-making process, depending upon the relative emphasis on the policy analytic procedures (procedural policy) or the policy informational components (substantive policy). Essentially, however, these models are derived from or based upon decision-making models. The most important of these are the maximizing model, the satisfying model, and the incrementalist model. While the maximizing model is primarily derived from economic theory, the satisfying model is primarily derived from social psychology and the incrementalist model is primarily derived from political sociology.

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[42] Dror, op. cit., p. 21.

The Maximizing Model

This model springs from the classical economic theory of the firm, but it has its roots going back to the classical tradition of ancient philosophy. At the center of the model is a concept of rationality rooted in individual choice behavior. The decision-maker is faced in a given situation with a number of choices or several courses of action. Each course of action is likely to lead to several consequences. The rational individual, taking into account the possible consequences of actions open to him, and ordering them in the light of his knowledge, will choose the course of action which leads to the best or most-preferred consequence.[43]

So the model bluntly states that the decision-maker is a rational human being who can, in principle, define a problem, clarify all goals and objectives, enumerate all possible alternatives for solving the problem, exhaust all possible consequences for each alternative, rank them all, and then from this myriad of things choose the best solution for the problem. Being a classical rationalist, the decision-maker considers ends or goals as logically prior and therefore they enjoy an ontological status in any problem. Means, which are aposteriori or epistemological, must be adjusted or changed in order to achieve ends.

But can the decision-maker perform all these tasks? Such tasks call for an impressive display of cerebral activity.[44]

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[43] Marcus Alexis and Charles Wilson, Organizational Decision-Making. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentic-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 149.

[44] John Rehfus, Public Administration as Political Process. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 161.

Herbert Simon, quite opposed to such a task, relates:

> In an important sense, all decision is a matter of compromise. The alternative that is finally selected never permits a complete or perfect achievement of objectives, but is merely the best solution that is available under the circumstances. The environmental situation inavoidably limits the alternatives that are available, and hence sets a maximum to the level of attainment of purpose that is possible.[45]

The Satisfying Model

This model was introduced by Herbert Simon as a reaction to or a descent from the maximizing model. Rational decision-making for Simon represents an ideal. Rationality is desireable as a basis for decision-making; but given the nature of man, his needs and emotions, and his organizations, it becomes unrealistic to assume that rationality can become the primary basis of decision-making.

The decision-maker does not recognize all goals. Knowledge of the consequences that follow from each alternative act under consideration is quite fragmentary and the evaluation of future consequences is highly imperfect, and that the range of alternatives considered is in fact limited. Thus, in this complicated world the decision-maker has to re-structure the decision-making situations he faces. He has to eliminate the scaling problem by reformulating multi-valued goals into single-valued ones,[46] and simplify the range of choices by ignoring many relationships except the most evident. To do otherwise is a super-human task.

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[45] Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior. (New York: MacMillan Company, 1965, 2nd. ed.), p. 6.

[46] Joseph Bower, "Descriptive Decision Theory from the Administrative Viewpoint," in Raymond Bauer and Kenneth Gregen. The Study of Policy Formation. (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 116.

Simon sees decision-making as essentially within an organizational context. He places the decision within the environment of a raw organization with its multiplicity of conflicting ideologies, currents, and counter currents of motives, anxieties, stresses, and satisfactions.[47] Thus rather than striving at an optimum solution or decision, an organization will tend to accept a satisfying solution--one that is good enough to fit the organization's conceptions of reality and values.[48] Sub-optimization, therefore, is more typical of organizational decision-making. That is, when an alternative seems to meet the minimal standards, or is good enough and is not dependent on the availability of alternatives from which the best is chosen.

The Incremental Model

This model is a further step reaction to the maximizing model than is the Simon satisfying model. Whereas Simon holds that the maximizing model is an ideal to be approximated by the second-best in the circumstances (the Satisfying Model), the incrementalists downright reject the maximizing model because it goes contrary to what all people in fact do.

For the incrementalist ends are not ontological in status. Rather both ends and means are epistemological or situational. Therefore, not only means should be adjusted to ends, as the maximizing model advocates, but also ends should be adjusted to means. This is because of the fluidity and instability of values. Achieving certain values necessarily means the expenditure or the foregoing of other values. Therefore, in decision-making one has to see how much of one value is sacrificed in attaining another value. This trade-off is done not in a comprehensive manner, but at the margin. If there is any ordering, it has to be done along a differing scale from the present situation or past trends. That is, only limited successive comparisons are made through the analysis of small numbers of roughly similar alternatives in order to see how much they differ from well-known ones.

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[47] William Gore, "A Bibliographic Essay on Decision-Making." Administrative Science Quarterly, 4 (June 1959), p. 99.

[48] Robert Owen, Organizational Behavior in Schools. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 100.

Therefore, in the real world, that is how decisions are made. They are not highly deductive rational decisions, but decisions that concentrate on marginal or little change, because of the restricted variety of alternatives and the restricted number of consequences. Decisions are really remedial kinds of things; they rather aim at lessening bad things than arriving at good things. This process takes place not only for one decision-maker in a certain place, but also throughout society.

> It is decision-making through small or incremental moves on particular problems rather than through a comprehensive reform program. It is also endless; it takes the form of an indefinite sequence of policy moves. Moreover, it is exploratory in that the goals of policy-making continue to change as new experience with policy throws new light on what is possible and desirable. In this sense, it is also better described as moving away from known social ills rather than moving toward a known and relatively stable goal.[49]

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[49] David Braybrooke and Chalres Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision. (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 71.

Thus policy process models that emphasize rationality in policy-making and the importance of analytic procedures are based primarily on the maximizing model of decision-making, while models that emphasize organizations, bargaining, power and exchange are based primarily on either the satisfying model or the incrementalist model. The informational needs of the policy-maker are seen differently by each model. On one extreme they are highly rational, technical, and comprehensive, and on the other extreme they are limited in rationality, muddled and marginal.

Policy Analysis*

Policy analysis is used to refer to the analysis of organizational or institutional arrangements.[50] It is often seen as an application of rationality to the resolution of policy issues. But policy analysts differ as to the degree and type of rationality applied. In fact, some writers see policy analysis as of two kinds: a) applied policy analysis and b) pure policy analysis. In the first, research is conducted to improve policies or solve problems while in the second research is conducted to test hypotheses or establish generalizations.[51]

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*Because of the ambiguous nature of policy analysis and because it is not exclusively seen as a research endeavor, the writer chose to treat it as part of the dependent variable rather than under the independent variable "research."

[50] Vincent Ostrom, "The Language, Theory, and Empirical Research in Policy Analysis," in Phillip Gregg (ed.), _op_. _cit_., p. 9.

[51] Phillip Gregg (ed.), _op_. _cit_., p. 171.

The latter is a kind of meta-type research and more closely related to the movement called "policy sciences."

Policy analysis is concerned with the investigation of policy content which includes both policy informational components and policy analytic aprocedures. Policy content, as Austin Ranney stated, includes the steps in policy formation and policy implementation:

> Policy content includes the particular object or set of objects the policy is intended to effect, the particular course of events desired, the particular line of action chosen, the particular declaration made and the particular actions taken--in all cases as actually chosen from among the alternative objects, courses of events, lines of actions, declarations, and actions that might have been chosen.[52]

Some analysts see policy analysis as primarily a study of rules. These rules are generally seen of two types: a) constitutive rules (rules which make up the game), which are mainly distributive or redistributive, and b) regulative rules (rules which control desired forms of behavior) which are either institutional, programmatic or technical.[53]

However, there is no general agreement among policy analysts as to the proper focus of policy analysis, the proper analytic tools to be used, and the warrantability status of knowledge claims of the analysts. Vincent Ostrom sees that the problem in policy analysis is one of fashioning words and propositions as tools and deciding what words and propositions can best be used for reasoned thought.[54] Policy-making systems are comprised of rules that are based on prescriptive language of authority relations. But analysts use descriptive language systems to investigate a prescriptive language system. Policy design, thus, requires that research findings be incorporated in the prescriptions of the rule structure.[55]

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[52] Austin Ranney, "The Study of Policy Content," in Austin Ranney (ed.), op. cit., p. 8.

[53] Phillip Gregg (ed.), op. cit., p. 164.

Robert Bish warned against the bias of scientific knowledge and the assumptions of perfect knowledge. Faced with uncertainties, rigorous analysis will not result in determinant solutions. The impossibility of perfect knowledge is due to three main things: a) difficulty of ascertaining individual preferences for assuming valuations (Planner's Paradox); b) difficulty of obtaining time and place-specific information which is important in day-to-day decision-making; and c) increasing relative ignorance of each individual in an environment of expanding knowledge.[56]

Hargrove identified a major limitation of the analysist in the following:

> One of the limitations of analysts for the most part has been their ignorance of, and frequently their disdain for, bureaucracy and bureaucrats.

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[54] Vincent Ostrom, op. cit., p. 10.

[55] Ibid., p. 10.

[56] Robert Bish, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

> This is particularly true of academics who are in government temporarily and have no incentive to develop organizational loyalties or even to identify with programs the way that career civil servants do. It permits analysts to dismiss implementation questions as administrative housekeeping matters which can be left to those "below stairs."[57]

Thus, over and above the divergent claims of the informational needs of policy-makers, policy-makers are depicted as feeling a greater need to reduce indeterminacy. Factors that influence them to do so are: (1) the scope of impact of the policy they are concerned with; (2) the degree of flexibility in the application of the policy; and (3) the ease with which a policy can be rescinded if it is found to be incorrect.[58]

Educational Policy

Educational policy is a set of rules that guide essential educational decisions. Spuck et al defined it as the "allocation of resources within organizations that have a very direct and identifiable effect on educational institutions."[59]

The categorization of policies according to the types of institutions of which they are a part, might mislead us into thinking that educational policies are policies that are made within educational institutions. This is not true for the simple reason that some policies made within educational institutions are not educational (eg., a plant-maintenance policy of a university), while other policies made outside educational institutions have educational intents (eg., a reduced-travel fare for students as a policy by a department of transportation).

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[57] Hargrove, op. cit., p. 27.

[58] John McDermott, Indeterminancy in Education. (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. xi.

[59] Dennis W. Spuck, et al, "An Introduction to Educational Policy Research," Education and Urban Society, Vol. 7, No. 3 (May 1975), p. 212.

Educational policies vary in their public character. The nesting of educational policies, already mentioned, is a case in point. Almost every societal agency has an educational policy, but public educational policies are found in only a smaller number of such agencies; "while each educational agency within society has an educational policy not every educational agency has a public policy."[60]

Though public policy with regard to education could be seen as something broader than a policy which only affects publicly supported or supervised schooling, yet in fact this is not the case in the field of education. Education is often seen as synonymous with schooling and educational policy is often seen as the rules that guide the allocation of resources to schools. That is why most of educational policy studies were concerned with the governance and finance of public schools. The model that was most often used to display the educational-policy process was a political systems model of the David Easton variety. This model has the following characteristics:

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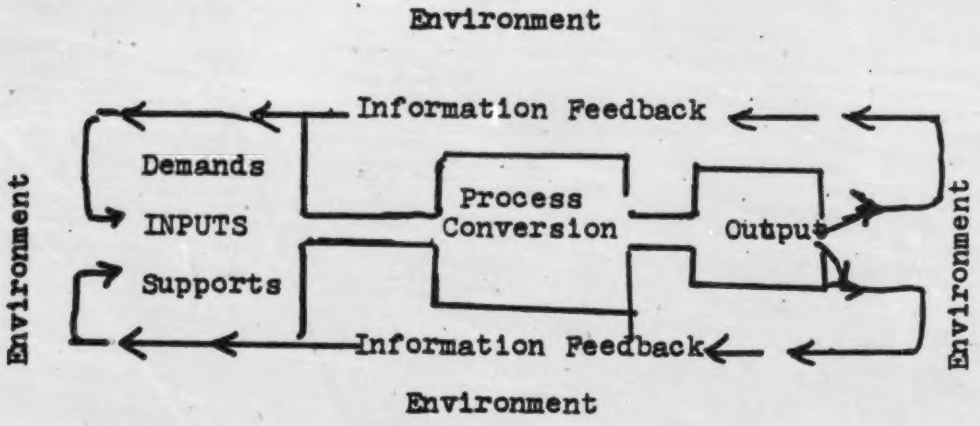
[60] Charles H. Lyons, "Educational Policy, Educational Expertise, and the AESA," Educational Studies, Vol. 7 (1976), p. 148.

a) Schematically it could be represented in the following:


Environment
Information Feedback
Demands
INPUTS
Supports
Process
Conversion
Output
Environment
Environment
Information Feedback
Environment

b) Structurally it has the following components:

1. Input Compartment where demands and supports spring either from within the system or from the outside environment in the form of stresses.
2. Process Conversion Compartment where the inputs are transformed into outputs.
3. Output Compartment where decisions made are transmitted either asinputs to another system or to the environment where it interacts to form new inputs into the system, signaling either the continuance or the modification or else the complete abandonment of the process.
4. The Feedback Loop which serves as linkages or channels for exchange and transactions between the system and the outer systems or sub-systems in the environment. It is the channel for the dissemination of both inputs and outputs.
5. The Environment which is either internal or external. It is the potential source of inputs for the system,

> the field of interaction, which produces stresses that try to enter the system in the forms of either demands or supports.

Stresses are expected to move from the external environment as exchanges or transactions that try to penetrate the system's boundaries. Not all demands and supports succeed in penetrating the system's boundaries. Those which succeed to enter are either absorbed without any reaction or changed to withinputs by being reduced or modified and later changed into outputs. These within-puts or pressures inside the system shape the conversion process and its product or output. Thus the sensitivity of the system to certain values and the biases of its personnel on one hand and the within-puts on the other are the main elements in the conversion process. The struggle that takes place within the conversion compartment is the heart of this value-allocative model.

Thus in educational policy-making, value and resource allocation is seen as primarily a political activity. Policy-makers are seen to be sensitive to value claims that succeed to enter the system, but how these claims are realized or at least considered, is not quite known. It is a black-box operation, a lobbying that is quite closed to educational institutions and open only to influential figures like school-board members, superintendents, governors, etc. In fact, this general model has been recently challenged and interpreted as being an elitist model for educational policy-making, despite its apparent open system features. It has been argued that such a model depends primarily on the existence of identifiable actors in the policy process and that the exchange transactions between these identifiable actors may not be the case. G. M. Dillon relates:

> In practice the conception of policy process as an input-output conversion system, in which policy itself is identified primarily with the output, is an ontological definition. Not only is reference made to the utility of employing these gross systems categories for ordering materials and making distinctions but the model is presented as an accurate representation and description of reality....the political process is seen as an arena into which interests enter in some fashion, to be dealt with by certain processes and transformed into policy outputs. Ultimately it is the autonomous individual whose character and activity are at the center of this politics of interest, and such an actor is defined ontologically by his sheer willfulness in the pursuit of his desires.[61]

Notwithstanding the particular model of the policy-making process, how could an educational policy be logically justified? Donna Kerr advances four tests in that connection.[62]

a) *The Justness Test* which rests on appeal to what is legal or moral;

b) *The Desireability Test* which rests on appeal to the Good. That is, an educational policy must have purposes which ~~must have purposes~~ ~~which~~ must be desirable and defensible on educational grounds. They must promote or be constitutive of or conducive to the Good Life under some description.

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[61] G. M. Dillon, "Policy and Dramaturgy: A Critique of Current Conceptions of Policy-Making," *Policy and Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (September 1976), p. 48.

[62] Donna Kerr, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

c) The Effectiveness Test which rests on appeal to the results of empirical research. But since no means is certain to effect the desired state of affairs, and some means are more likely than others to effect that state, then the effectiveness test becomes a relative one. That is, an effective policy is one which employs a means that is likely to effect the most approximate state of affairs more than any other alternative means.

d) The Tolerability Test which rests on appeal to costs. That is, the costs measured both in expenditure of resources and undesirable side effects on the policy must be tolerable when weighed against the value of the purpose that the policy is designed to achieve.

If these tests are sound and fair, then the informational needs of the policy-maker can be classified into two categories: (a) that of what is good and legal and (b) that of what is effective and tolerable. In fact, all the models of the policy-making process emphasized either one or the other, though the categories might assume different shades of meaning in each model. Put more simply, the informational needs of the policy-maker are of two kinds: What is desirable? and What is opportune?

CHAPTER IV

THE MISSING LINK

Policy decisions are said to fly, sometimes, in the face of research findings.[63] Many decision-makers, as Guba remarked, pride themselves on "shooting from the hip," and would not have it any other way.[64] Research findings are also described as, sometimes, going against conventional wisdom and common sense. Researchers speak a different language and house different value assumptions from those of the policy-makers. Rationalizations could go on indefinitely on either side, but the open question still holds: Where is the missing link?

In this chapter, we are going to investigate the problem of knowledge, its use and models of utilization, how it is labeled true or false, useful or unuseful. Specifically, we are going to answer the following three questions:

1. What research knowledge actually got used by policy-makers?
2. What factors prohibit the use of research knowledge by policy-makers?
3. Under what conditions does research get used by policy-makers?

Knowledge

Knowledge is very elusive. Emphasizing the abstract aspects of knowledge, the classical nationalists, particularly

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[63] Nathan Caplan, et al, The Use of Social Science Knowledge in Policy Decisions at the National Level. (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1975), p. v.

[64] Egon G. Guba, "The Failure of Educational Evaluation," Educational Technology, Vol. 9, No. 5 (May 1969), p. 35.

Plato, ended their investigation by depicting the knowledgeable as a mystic, a transcendental ~~meditator~~ who is farther removed from the entanglements of the terrestial world. Emphasizing the concrete aspects of knowledge, the classical empiricists, particularly Hume, ended their investigations by depicting the knowledgeable as an empty reservoir through which bundles of discrete impressions parade in and out with nothing to hold them together, neither unity, nor causality, nor self-identify. The result was, as William James coined the term, a "blooming-buzzing-confusion."

For lack of a better word, "knowledge" could be described as an abstraction. Amitai Etzioni gives a good analogy:

> All knowledge is simplification--a reduced, schematic abstraction from a richer, less ordered, more concrete reality. Knowledge is to the world what a map is to the road: It reports some detail to the neglect of many others, and the signs must be understood before it is of any use at all.[65]

Theories of Knowledge

Theories of knowledge proliferate, but they could essentially be reduced to either the classical empiricist or the classical rationalist theories of knowledge, or else a modification or/and a combination of the two theories. The classical rationalists believe that knowledge is essentially conceptual in nature while the classical empiricist believes that it is essentially empirical. Notwithstanding the differential conceptions of the nature of knowledge, all knowledge is, in a sense, objective; that is, having a guarantor. Some prefer to posit the guarantor outside the knowing mind (realism) while others prefer to posit the guarantor inside the knowing mind (idealism). Hence originated the controversy between objectivity and subjectivity of knowledge. Both kinds of knowledge are important to the life of a person and their validity and reliability are contextually determined. But as man interacts and communicates with others so often, objective measures or outside guarantors of knowledge came to be more respected. This gave rise to what is called societal knowledge. The bits and pieces of subjective referents are organized into a more encompassing context.

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[65] Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society. (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 148.

> For knowledge to be usable, as a rule, bits must be organized into more encompassing contexts. We shall refer to this process as synthesizing and to the result as synthesis. Synthesis is a matter of degree; no actor relates all his fragments of knowledge well to all others, but some have them more organized than others.[66]

Societal knowledge is, generally, not specialized. This could be seen in what is called rural or primitive society where economic aspects are intertwined with educational, religious, moral and other aspects of life. But with the advent of specialization and division of labor, knowledge became differentiated and proliferated, and even there arose organizations that completely specialized the production of knowledge. While societies in general depended on the cumulative wisdom of tradition and convention as the guarantor of knowledge, the "knowledge factories" of modern society depended on the cumulative wisdom of the "knowledge workers" as the guarantor of knowledge. Thus what is true is determined by basically the same structure, but the rules of the game differ in each situation.

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[66] Amitai Etzioni, op. cit., p. 143.

Theories of Truth

Theories of truth are often integrated with the theories of knowledge, because every theory of knowledge implicitly or explicitly states the guarantor of knowledge. Nevertheless, theories of truth differ in their interpretations of the relation between the known (knowledge) and the guarantor. Some like to see the relation as one of correspondence (a copy), while others like to see it as one of coherence (consistence, fit). Thus there are essentially two theories of truth: the correspondence theory and the coherence theory. The first is rigid and sometimes corspucular (one-to-one correspondence), while the second is more flexible and even, sometimes, admits of a change in the basis of truth. Contrasting the two theories, William Eckhardt relates:

> While the humanist "truth" is whatever coheres with the whole of our knowledge, including values as well as facts, and even including our theory of knowledge itself, the positivist "truth" is limited to those human ideas or values which correspond with the "facts" as given by God or Nature, without any active criticism, negativism, nor evaluation.[68]

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[68] William Eckhardt, "Research and Education Approaches to Peace and Justice," Peace Research Review, Vol. 4, No. 4 (February 1972), p. 81.

Thus, according to the correspondence theory of truth, only one criterion or class of similar criteria could be applied to determine a knowledge claim, whereas, according to the coherence theory of truth, multiple criteria could be used (depending on the context) to determine a knowledge claim. For example, truth could mean what is workable or pragmatic in one situation, what is moral or ethical in another situation, and what is religious in a third situation.

Theories of Action

The passage from knowledge to action is the most untrodden part in the field of knowledge. Socrates identified knowledge with reminiscence and virtue. So he didn't see a distance between the knowing mind and the latent "truth" on one hand, nor between the known and the guiding principle for action on the other. For Socrates what is known is actually applied or else it is not really known if it is not applied. You cannot say: "Yes, I know; but I cannot do it." You cannot know what is good and do what is bad.

Aristotle, however, was the first to see the difference between knowledge and action. Each one has a logic of its own. The principles of knowledge are embedded in the laws of logic and nature while the principles of action are embedded in the laws of physics and morals. Knowledge is guided by a logic of pure syllogism while action is guided by practical syllogism or a logic of practical wisdom. G. Von Wright explaining such a practical syllogism says:

> The premises of a practical syllogism do not with logical necessity entail behavior. They do not entail the "existence of a conclusion to match them." The syllogism when leading up to action is practical and not a piece of logical demonstration.[69]

Like the subsumption theory or the covering law model of the natural sciences, this practical syllogism or practical inference has the utility of explaining actions. Chris Argyris and Donald Schon have developed a theory of action along the same line of a practical syllogism. They distinguished between an espoused theory of action which one gives or communicates to others in any one situation, and a theory-in-use which actually governs one's actions and which may or may not be compatible with his espoused theory.

> Theories-in-use, however their assumptions may differ, do all include assumptions about self, others, the situation, and the connections among action, consequence, and situation.[70]

That is, a theory-in-use is an active philosophy of life, a constellation of axioms of behavior which need not be adequately intellectually formulated nor form a self-consistent system.

Models of Knowledge Utilization

In the recent literature, some attempts have been made to reconstruct models of utilization and underutilization of knowledge. Though some models have been sketched out and proliferated, yet essentially the same models go under different names by different writers. However, three major models could well be recognized.

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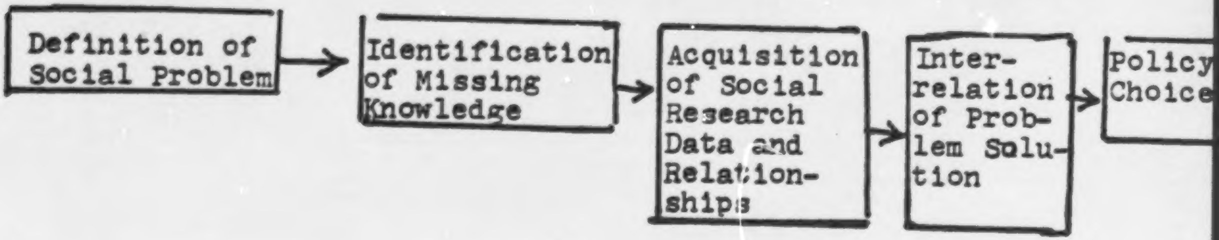
[69] G. Von R. Wright, Explanation and Understanding. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), p. 117.

[70] Chris Argyris and Donald A. Schon, Theory in Practice. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975), p. 7.

Problem-Solving Model

Hevelock and associates, Jack Rothman and associate, Lazersfeld, and others denote this model by the name of problem-solving while Carol Weiss calls it the "Decision-Driven Model." This model could be schematically represented in the following:

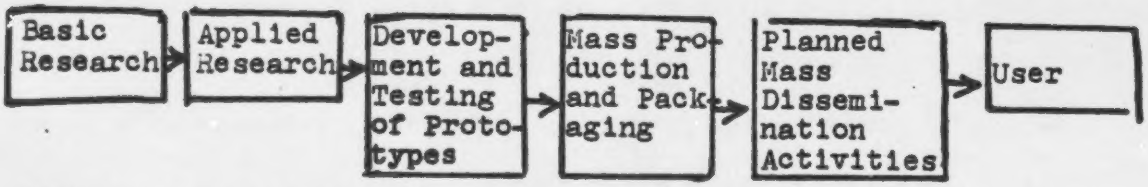

Definition of Social Problem
Identification of Missing Knowledge
Acquisition of Social Research Data and Relationships
Interrelation of Problem Solution
Policy Choice

(Source: Weiss, Using Social Research in Public Policy Making). P. 12.

This model is the most prevalent image of research utilization. It starts from an existing problem to the search for information for understanding the problem, to the generation of alternative solutions, to the selection of the best solution, to the application of that solution. The assumptions of such a model are such that a consensus on goals exists, that both policy-makers and researchers tend to agree on what the desired end of state should be, and that the contribution of research is to help in the identification and selection of appropriate means to reach goals.

Research and Development Model

This model is also referred to as the "knowledge driven" model by Weiss and the "Spontaneous Contagion Model" by Rothman. This model could be schematically represented in the following:


Basic Research
Applied Research
Development and Testing of Prototypes
Mass Production and Packaging
Planned Mass Dissemination Activities
User

(Source: Hevelock. Innovation in Education: Strategies and Tactics. (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1971), p. 11.

This model is derived from the basic model of research in the physical sciences. As such, it represents a grand strategy for planned innovation for many of the social scientists. In fact, the "problem solving" model could be seen as a variant of this model. Though the assumption in the "Research and Development" is such that the innovation would be adopted intact, yet the problem-solving model does not say whether it should be adopted intact, should have some influence even if not fully adopted, or just be considered even if more compelling considerations prevent its adoption.[71]

Social Interaction Model

The main difference between this model and the other two is that this model adopts a non-linear approach to utilization. According to this model, research use is only part of a complicated process that uses experience, pressures, social technologies and judgement.[72] All people involved in an issue area pool thair talents, beliefs, and understandings in order to make sense of a problem. Thus administrators,practitioners, politicians, planners, journalists, interest groups, and social scientists are all sources for the complex search for knowledge.

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[71] Carol Weiss (ed.), Using Social Research in Public Policy-Making, op. cit., p. 13.

While the first two models could be seen as more or less related to the maximizing model of the policy-making process, the social-interaction model may be seen as closely related to either the satisfying model or/and the incrementalist model.

Carol Weiss coined a fourth model which she named the "Political Amunition Model." This model, in fact, is a description of the uses which the policy maker will put research to. Other writers denote such a use by such words as the "pick-up" use or "legitimation" use of research. Policy makers are said to commission or use research for a variety of reasons: to support a predetermined position, to delay action, to avoid responsibility for a decision, to gain recognition and support, to discredit an opponent or a disliked policy, or to maintain prestige.[73]

The moral here is that if use is not determined by a value-criterion then we cannot distinguish between a use and non-use. In particular, this argument may constitute a refutation to the position that the effect of research on policy-making is minimal, unless, of course, they change their position and try to answer the question: When is a use not a use?

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[72] Ibid., p. 13.

[73] Ibid., p. 15.

Models of Underutilization

There are many models of underutilization. These models are in effect an enumeration of the obstacles that stay in the way of research utilization. Weiss' model of "political amunition" could be seen, from a counter point, as a model of underutilization. The most important model, which is a counter model of the political amunition model, is that which advocates the existence of ideological blinders on the part of the policy-makers. Other models try to distribute responsibilities or blames on both researchers and policy-makers. Thus they speak of the existence of different perspectives, of differences in languages and difficulty of translations. Fred Kramer put his hands on most of the important problems of research underutilization:

> Rather than denigrate the decision maker's dismissal of the analytic work as merely "politics," analysts should engage in some self-analysis. Why wasn't the analysis used by the decision-maker? "Politics" is the easy answer. But perhaps the analysis did not meet the needs of the decision-maker. Perhaps the analysis was faulty in some respect with which the decision-maker was familiar. Perhaps the analysts did not spell out adequately the implicit assumptions in the analysis. More likely, the analysts probably did not spell out the weaknesses in their work because *their perspective--their implicit ideology--made it impossible for them to see the weaknesses.*[74]

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[74] Fred A. Kramer, "Policy Analysis as Ideology," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (September/October 1975), p. 512.

Thus models of underutilization emphasize the existence of a gap between researchers and policy-makers due to differences in values, languages, rewards systems, and social and professional affiliations.[75]

Some empirical research, however, was done to investigate the problem of underutilization. Nathan Caplan conducted a survey questionnaire among high-level policy-makers. The apple-pie nature of the questionnaire and the fact that scientific information frequently merges with and becomes indistinguishable from other kinds of policy inputs, were admitted as limitations to the research. The results, however, showed that the use of soft knowledge represents the modal type of social science knowledge use among the policy-makers.[76] Another important finding of this research was that a consideration of whether or not a policy decision is politically feasible overrides any other considerations.

> In other words, social-science data are not of such compelling force as to take precedence over their political significance, -not only with respect to the deliberate non-use of data, but with respect to the deliberate use of data as well.[77]

A Third finding was that most policy-makers share the belief that social scientists are politically naive and that they need to become more familiar with policy formulation and the political process.

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[75] Nathan Caplan, The Use of Social Science Knowledge in Policy Decisions at the National Level. (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1975), p. 27.

[76] Ibid., p. 19.

[77] Ibid., p. 35.

The most important recommendations of the study runs as follows:

> What is needed is to come to grips with the difficulties of bridging the perspectives of social scientists and policy-makers, not necessarily the individuals.[78]

There is some evidence that research got used by the policy-makers. But this depends on the kind of information supplied and the orientation of the policy-makers. As far as information is concerned, it was generally found that policy-makers use soft or conceptual information more than hard or quantitative information. Many writers, in fact, allude to the sensitizing function of social research. Social-research contribution to policy-makers is seen not as mainly providing solutions to problems, but rather as tidying up problems,[79] make policy-makers sensitive to new issues, and turn non-problems to problems or vice versa.

> But for the most part the influence of research has been to sensitize. It has indicated the importance of certain problems and the danger of the unself-conscious use of certain procedures, without necessarily providing clear-cut calculations of advantage or a firm foundation for decision.[80]

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[78] Ibid., p. 51.

[79] Torsten Husén, op. cit., p. 14.

[80] William Taylor, "Knowledge and Research," in William Taylor (ed.), Research Perspectives in Education. (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 209.

This sensitizing effect, however, will not come out as a result of a single research. Cohen and Garet argued that the Coleman Report by itself or the Title I program evaluations (each one by itself) would not effect any particular local decisions about school-resource allocation. But taken together they gradually eroded the assumptions underlying compensatory policy.[81] Other writers argued that the evaluation research about the Head Start Program really served a containment function since the program was not expanded as planned and budgetary allocations to the program declined or at least remained within bounds.

As to the orientations of policy-makers, Caplan found that there are three general orientations: (1) the Clinical Orientation, (2) the Academic Orientation, and (3) the Advocacy Orientation. The clinically oriented policy-maker is like a clinical psychologist or a physician, who deals with both the "internal logic" and external logic of a problem. He first gathers and processes the best available information to make an unbiased diagnosis of a policy issue (internal logic). Then he gathers information regarding the political and social ramifications of the policy issue (external logic). He then weighs and reconciles the conflicting aspects of the information.[82]

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[81] Cohen and Garet, op. cit., p. 23.

[82] Nathan Caplan, op. cit., p. 37.

The academically oriented policy-maker, however, deals only with the internal logic of the problem while the advocacy-oriented policy-maker deals only with the external logic of the problem. The one is like a university professor and the other is like a lawyer or an advocate.

Thus these three styles determine to a great extent what kind of knowledge gets used by a policy-maker. In essence, the general consensus is that underutilization is primarily due to the existence of two different worlds or perspectives. Again Caplan reconfirms this conclusion:

> The level of knowledge utilization is not so much the result of a slow flow of relevant and valid knowledge from knowledge-producers to policy-makers, but is due more to factors involving values, ideologies, and decision-making styles.[83]

Thus we have seen that policy-makers actually use some social-research knowledge, that factors which prevent knowledge utilization are mainly factors embedded in the different perspectives of both policy-makers and researchers, and that the most important condition under which policy-makers make use of social research is the political feasibility of the knowledge information.

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[83] Nathan Caplan, "Factors Associated with Knowledge Use among Executives," Policy Studies Journal, Vol. 4, No. 3 (Spring 1976), p. 233.

CHAPTER V

THE HAPPY MARRIAGE

Whitehead once remarked that discovery is like the flight of an airplane--a flash of insight, though grounded on empirical reality, yet incomprehensible at the moment of creation. It is only through hindsight that it becomes more intelligible; or as Churchman put it, analyzable in retrospect.[84]

Where have we moved so far? Not very much. The same gap we started with in the philosopher-king's position still seems to hover above our heads. Couch it in whatever language you like--perspectives, ideologies, biases, etc.--it still remains, substantially, the same old gap or, to use James' phrase, the same old wine. Perhaps it is an eternal gap, perhaps it is a manifestation of the eternal dialectic, perhaps it is a universal delusion of our own reconstruction of reality, perhaps.... Perhaps we only need to throw the dice to make our choice.

The Nietzehean doctrine of the "eternal recurrence" has much to offer in this respect. The doctrine is a double-edged weapon. For the weak, it is a call for passivity, withdrawal and relinquishment. For the strong, it is a call for perseverence, struggle and innovation.

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[84] C. West Churchman, op. cit., p. 17.

Acting on the latter assumption, some bright future could always be envisaged. Thus some general guidelines can now be advanced for a happy future alliance between research and policy-making. Ely Chinoy, addressing a community of sociologists, remarked:

> If sociologists cannot engage in a dialogue with power upon the basis of their knowledge, they are likely to be reduced to instruments of power. If they cannot ask what may become embarrassing or troublesome questions about our present situations and values and the existing structure of power and control, they will find themselves treating symptoms rather than basic causes of our social troubles and their function may become merely one of allaying discontent rather than contributing to necessary changes.[85]

Constructive dialogue has really been advocated by some writers as a possible solution for bridging the gap between policy-makers and researchers. Other writers do not think of dialogue _per se_ but speak of establishing a liaison in general. Torsten Husén, addressing a community of educators, put it this way:

> We can draw up a continuum which is located between two poles: on the one side, complete aloofness in the ivory tower, and, on the other, total immersion in the noise of actions and discussion of issues in the educational market place. The problem is that of striking a proper balance: of establishing good liaison with the policy-makers without becoming evangelists and without scaring the other partner into withdrawing his support.[86]

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[85] Ely Chinoy, _Knowledge and Action: The Role of Sociology_. (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Publications, 1970), p. 19.

[86] Torsten Husén, _Educational Research and the State_. (London: King Thorne and Stace, Ltd., 1968), p. 22.

Other more formal solutions have been offered. The following are more typical in the literature of research utilization.

1. The Knowledge Broker Solution

This solution is modeled after the middleman in the business or commercial enterprise. His role is to bring together the producer and consumer in a profitable deal. But there are different conceptions as to the nature of this middleman. Some think of him as impersonal, an organization or agency. Others think of him as a person and identify him with the policy analyst or the policy-maker advisor. Indeed, some think of his role as educating the policy-maker and sensitizing him to the importance of the findings of social research.

2. The Multiplier Effect Solution

This solution is almost a variant of the above one. Advocates of this solution model their thinking after the effects of innovations. Studies of innovation showed that once an innovation is accepted by key or influential figures, then it gets diffused rapidly in the society. Similarly, if the knowledge broker is a man of repute, status or standing, then his effect on the policy maker will be greater.

3. The Sabbatical Leave Solution

This solution is intended to make the researcher more acquainted with the style and tactics of policy-makers when they work in close contact with them. When the researcher comes back to the academic community, he will acquire some insights from the field of action which will help him in his designs and substantitive aspects of his research.

This latter solution, despite certain difficulties, has something to commend. Cultural-revitalization studies showed that most of the cultural movements' leaders underwent some sort of a seclusion period when the leaders formulated the codes of the revolution and later put it into action by working closely with the masses of the people. British historian Arnold Toynbee, in fact, elevated such a phenomenon to a universal law which he called "withdrawal and return." In his "A Study of History," Toynbee found that all the world leaders, secular and religious, starting with Jesus Christ and ending with Napoleon and Hitler, really underwent a period of withdrawal in which they formulated their ethical codes which they later enforced for changing societies and the individuals.

Other solutions could conceivably be brought into being. But the fact remains that there is no one solution which could be described as the best solution. Singling out one solution as the best solution will tend to make us fall back on a hardening perspective which is the root of the problem we set out to solve. It is true that we cannot escape the problem of perspectives, but it is always possible to broaden our perspectives. We can put on a binocular vision rather than a monocular one, adopt a double-loop way of thinking rather than a single-loop one, and lend a listening ear rather than turn a hard back to others. But all this is not easy. It needs patience and tolerance.

Perhaps there are no solutions for some problems, but only reformulations of the same problems. Perhaps there are no answers to some questions, but only rephrasing of the same questions. In this context we can handle what is left over in this study--the formal substance of the problem we set out to address. Is the effect of research on policy-making minimal? What do you mean? (a) A single piece of research? (b) A certain type or kind of research? (c) The whole class of social research? Pick up your choice! If "a" or "b" or "c," still what do you mean? Do you mean that research findings were not brought to the attention of the decision-maker? If they were, do you mean that they were not considered by the policy-maker? If they were, do you mean that they were not endorsed in the package of policy decision? If they were, do you mean that they did not show up in the implementation process of the decision? If they did, do you mean that they did not have an effect or impact on the target population? If they did, the question would not arise any more. But if the logical pattern breaks down then we have to search for the possible causes of a hypothesized minimal effect of research on policy-making. In this respect we have to make a prolonged excursion into the lanes and picnic resorts of research, the thorny shrubs of policy, and the cloudy sky of knowledge and utilization. After all, the excursion may not be fruitful, but nevertheless exciting.

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WOMEN TEACHERS IN TEACHERS' INSTITUTES

PITTSBURGH 1860-1880*

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School teachning provided an opportunity for a new role, one of paid employment, to many women in nineteenth Century America. Employment trends show a large number of women were able to find jobs in the schools, as the public school system expanded during the last century. In Pennsylvania women made up a third of the teaching force in 1848.[1] By 1858 they held two fifths of the jobs in the state. One finds a dramatic increase to almost 60% in 1868; this is probably to be explained by the aftermath of the Civil War. Ten years later, in 1878, women's proportion of the work force had slipped back to 55%, but the trend moved back to one of a general increase through the rest of the century. Generally, the trend of female employment came first in cities to be followed later by rural and less populated areas. In Pittsburgh, for example, women made up half the work force in the schools in the early 1850's, ten to fifteen years before the state average indicated that women had surpassed men in gaining jobs in the schools.[2] Maris Vinovskis and Richard Bernard, in their research on Massachusetts schools, argue that the turn-over rate was high among teachers, and that many more women actually taught than the statistics on employment show. They speculate that one out of every five women in the state taught school at some time during their lives.

It is clear that teaching offerred extensive job opportunities to women in nineteenth century America. But what kind of opportunities did it afford for new roles? Did teaching provide women the chance to to develop new roles? What opportunity did women have and what roles did they take in developing new skills, social, occupational, political, or other?

In pursuing answers to these questions I chose to explore in detail the lives of many women, and the variety of experience they had as teachers. I chose Pittsburgh, as a case study, for several reasons. First, Pittsburgh made the shift from a predominantly male to a predominantly female labor force fairly early in the development of the schools. In this way the city was one of several trend setters. Women taught in large numbers in Pittsburgh before the debates of the mid-century over women's proper role and the preferability of women in the schools. With a large female work force, extending over many years, I felt I would find a sufficient population of teachers to permit me to explore for both diversity in roles among women, and change over time in their roles. This would permit me to make links between various bodies of information and still come up with a fairly reasonable sample of the work force, given the problems of missing data. From the large collection of social and biographical information I could draw conclusions about women's experience in the schools.

Pittsburgh provided little employment opportunity for women. This urban context provided an excellent one for considering the possible variety of motivation women had for employment in the schools. This city I felt would high-light the diversity and variety in women's roles within the schools.

The reasons for focusing my discussion on the period 1855 to 1881 will be apparent from my discussion below.Primarily this includes a time frame in which teachers' institutes were most active in the city.

My research uncovered the teachers' institution as one area in which many women were involved in building the profession of teaching and the system of public education. As members of the institutes women sought and carried out a variety of responsibilities in the institutes and with their fellow teachers. From the city institutes some went on to become involved in state and regional teacher training activity.

The teachers' institute, a structure within the nineteenth century school system, was initially developed in an attempt to improve the quality of teachers in the school system.[4] The institutes were designed as self-help programs. Some were organized in an hierarchical fashion where teachers or leaders in the field of education lectured on various subject matter. Others were conducted in a less formal fashion. In these teachers met and determined the content and format of discussions. In this kind of set-up teachers played an active role in defining their own educational experience, much like students in the alternative curriculum program in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pittsburgh do today.

These institutes also served an important political function. Teachers met regularly and discussed developments in the educational system and the implications these changes had for thier teaching roles. Laws and statutes passed in Harrisburg and in the local community could be and were discussed and debated. At these meetings teachers compared work experience within their assigned schools, and between the various schools within the system. Through this experience they undoubtably were able to gain a broader view of the system as a whole, and their own roles in that system. And the experience probably influenced roles as both classroom teachers and educators in the developing school system.

Finally, the institute served an important social function. Often times the entertainment at the sessions of the institutes brought public criticism. but the singing sessions, the poetry and prose readings, and the regular annual dinner gatherings brought men and women together as both friends and co-workers in ways that could not happen in the schools or even in the lecture sessions of the institute.

The teachers' institute was short-lived. As the institutes grew and flourished the ground work was being laid for their eventual demise. From the institutes themselves came individuals who worked actively to promote the Normal Schools as the vehicle for teacher training. These men and women were committed to building a profession. Their energies went to developing their expertise around the curriculum taught in the schools, to defining the special skills of the teacher, to limiting access to the occupation, to requiring the equivalent of licensure, the certificate, to setting salaries for the professional and to regulating their working conditions.

In order to make sense out of the role of women teachers in the teachers' institute it was necessary to understand the basic developments, the changes over time in the structure of the school system, at the state level, as well as the changes in the requirements for teaching. It is against this backdrop that the female teacher's role(s) in the developing schools make sense. I review these changes immediately below and then proceed to my analysis of women's role.

The period 1860 to 1880 was a time of intense and extensive change in the educational system in Pennsylvania.[5] During this time key laws were passed, decisions made by educators which laid the ground work for the massive bureaucracy of public education. In 1838 law had been written providing for free education for all children of the commonwealth, not just the children of the poor. To carry out this promise the state system was confronted with four issues which consumed much of the system's energies over the next thirty years. Every report of the State Superintendent of Common Schools during the 1850's, '60's and '70's reviews these problems.[6] First, the system lacked qualified teachers. A qualified teacher initially was defined solely on the basis of knowledge in orthography, reading, writing, grammar, geography, and arithmetic. Over time additions were made to this list to include history of the United States,and knowledge of teaching methods.

Second, the system lacked adequate schools. Adequacy was defined in terms of numbers of schools at first, and later included the condition of the physical environment. The third issue confronting the system was the lack of accountability of the various school districts within the state system to the state agency. While state funds went regularly to the participating districts the state had little means for systematically measuring its investment. And finally, the system was plagued with the lack of standardization among the various districts. This proved troublesome to teachers, students and to the developing business sector which sought an educated labor force.

The office of county superintendent was legally established in 1854 as a means of solving these problems.[7] Each county in the state system was required to elect an official who would be responsible for examining applicants for teaching positions and granting certificates to the successful ones, gathering statistics from the various schools in the district on the quality of the schools, the adequacy of facilities. and attendance of youth.

The law of 1854 also raised requirements for teaching by establishing higher standards for certification. Initially two categories were defined: provisional and permanent certification. Over the period between 1854 and 1880 these categories became more numerous as laws were written and rewritten. Although the categories became complicated, they did reflect more of the reality of the situation and the wide range of qualification among teachers.

Along with the raising of standards for certification state law was passed in 1858 calling for the establishment of normal schools for teacher training. The battles over who should fund those went on for years and perhaps were never fully resolved. But at the time funding was not the key issue. If these schools could have been set-up immediately they would not solve the immediate need for a large number of more competent teachers. Teachers' institutes, conducted in the local districts, became the temporary solution to the problem.

The school law of 1854 called for the conducting of county institutes at least twice a year. One was to be held to include teachers from the entire county, the other to include those within the individual schools. The law as it was first written provided no means for requiring teachers to attend. It was not until 1867, with the passage of new school law that local schools were given the means to ensure attendance. The deduction of one day's pay was established for those who failed to provide an adequate excuse for not attending.

A close look at the Pittsburgh scene indicates that teachers in this city were willing and maybe even anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity to broaden their knowledge. Before the law required teachers to attend institutes it appears teachers had organized their own. Extant manuscript principal's reports and minutes of sub-district board meetings indicate that teachers met during the late 1840's and 1850's to discuss curriculum. Published records of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association (PSTA) in the early in 1850's reveal that some of the same individuals who later attended the regular meetings of the county institute during the 1860's and 1870's were members of this earliest effort to develop expertise in teaching.[9] As early as 1859 members of the city's educational community, including teachers in the schools, published an educational journal for the expressed purpose of improving the quality of teachers through increased communications and sharing ideas. The Educator and Educational Record was the outcome of this early effort. This journal ceased publication shortly thereafter but was followed by the Pennsylvania Teacher in 1861, the School Casket in 1868, the School Chronicle in 1870, the Educational Review in 1875, and the Educational Voice in 1881. At the same time the city's schools were strong supporters of the Pennsylvania School Journal, published in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Content analysis of the minutes of the early teachers meetings, as recorded in the manuscript records and the published minutes of the teachers' institute, indicate a general shift over time in the nature of this educational experience for teachers. In the early years school principals played an important role in defining the subject matter to be covered in meetings.[10] But individual teachers could and did have some influence in these decisions. The principal's reports occassionally remark on the lack of willingness of some teachers to follow the leader.[11] In some cases teachers refused to attend meetings in protest.

In the initial stages of formalization of the institutes, after law was passed requiring they be held, it appears there was still ample room for self-education in the institutes. Reports of the meetings reveal debates over the county superintendent's role in county institutes and normal schools. Should this official have the authority to determine the programs or should teachers determine these things themselves?

Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the PSTA in 1855 reveal continued discussion of this issue.[12] Andrew Burtt and Robert Curry, two men who were prominent in the Pittsburgh and Allegheny County school, system entered into a heated debate over the role of the county superintendent in the institute and normal school. The primary focus of their dialogue dealt with the general rights and powers a superintendent should have. But implicit in their argument was conflict over the responsibility teachers should have in determining their own education. Mr. Burtt took a position favoring local autonomy, with power being held by the teachers while Mr. Curry favored systematization and standardization of curriculum and teacher training, with regulatory powers at the state level. One is not surprised to find that later Mr. Curry became assistant superintendent of Common Schools while Mr. Burtt remained a leading figure at the local level, in the institutes, the teachers association, and the city schools.

Published materials on the purpose of the teachers' institute critize the "displaying of lions", i.e., the inviting of experts from far and distant places to instruct teachers.[13] One article calls for the use of teachers from the local area to give lectures to teachers.[14] Similar articles call for "experience meetings" where teachers would meet and discuss relevant educational issues.[15]

Discussion to this point has focused on the general role of the teachers' institute. My key interest in examining them has been to gain insight into female teachers roles in education. By examining these one can find evidence of roles that women had, and gain a sense of the kinds of roles they had in the larger system.

To begin, one finds that women made up the vast majority of the members of the institutes.[16] More than half of the female work force in 1870 and three quarters of it in 1880 attended the institutes. Of the 36 women who worked from 1870 to 1881 13 were members in both years. The remainder of the membership was made up of women who taught for less than this eleven year period and were members for shorter times.

In what ways were women involved in the institute? Here the records reveal a variety of activity. Women were often called upon to give readings, in poetry and prose, to demonstrate reading, drawing techniques in teaching, or to comment on the role of the teacher in the classroom.[17] It appears that there were substantive difference between women's and men's presentations, in the kinds of things each sex was called upon to do. For the most part only the titles of women's talks were listed in the literature while men's full lectures were printed. But regardless of the sexism of the institutes or the secretary of the meetings. It remains true that women did have some active role in the institute.

Several of the women who attended the institute attended meetings of the PSTA. The minutes of those meetings provide evidence of women speaking out on issues such as equal pay for equal work,[18] criticizing the men for calling upon women to serve in leadership capacities but never allowing them to speak out on issues that concerned them as women or all teachers in the system.[19] In 1870 women carried the vote for charging women 50¢ dues for membership.[20] Although this was half the rate for male members, it was the first time women were able to establish themselves as paying members of the organization.

Women held various leadership positions.[21] The minutes of the meetings show that women ran for office,although in the early years few were elected. Throughout the period from 1870 to 1880 one finds women serving on the resolutions, entertainment, and permanent certification committees. For several years women held primary responsibility in the publication of the School Chronicle.

Rather than proceed in general terms with this discussion of women in the institute, I have selected four women whose roles reflect some of the diversity of activity of women in the school system. In presenting these four I do not intend to suggest they represent an average or general role. It is impossible to determine their representativeness at this time.

Miss Emily Martin,[22] a teacher in the Pittsburgh schools from 1855 to 1881 was a member of the PSTA in 1855[23] and attended the Teachers'Institute of Pittsburgh throughout the period of its existence.[24] According to the principal's report from one of the schools that employed her, she was a rather head-strong, determined woman.[25] She seemed to have defined for herself what her role as teacher would be. When asked to add to her duties, to fill out reports to be sent to Harrisburg, she responded she would never fill them out. When her principal visited her classroom on the day the reports were due her found that she had left for the day. Over the next few months he made trips to her room to pick up Ms. Martin's report and each time he found she had again left early, as had several other teachers, including her sister. Only when he threatened that the board of directors would not pay her monthly salary did she file the reports and then in a half-hearted manner. Her principal complained they were incomplete and sloppy.

Ms. Martin held a position in the Executive committee of the PSTA[26] and on the permanent certification committee in the teachers' institute.[27] On the latter committee she took a strong position on the need for setting high standards for certification. No records exist which provide information on her role in the PSTA but one can speculate that it was in keeping with her role in the classroom and on the certification committee.

In 1870 Ms. Martin was listed in the manuscript population census as the head of the household.[28] She lived with her sister, Henriette who was also a teacher in the city schools, and with several brothers. She claimed $10,000 in real wealth and $1,000 in personal wealth. Of all the teachers listed in the manuscript census for that year she was one of the wealthiest. Even considering the wealth of other teachers' parents, usually father's wealth, she remains one of the richest. She listed her birth place as Pennsylvania. The parents does not show her parents ethnicity.

Mrs. E.A. Wade worked for years in the school system with her husband, a man deeply involved in the local school system.[29] It appears that she traveled with him to conduct sessions at various institutes outside Allegheny County. She gave demonstrations and he lectured. For several years she served, along with Jennie Ralston, as editor of the Educational Voice.[30] In the early 1880's she put aside that work claiming that her other responsibilities in the schools kept her from doing justice as editor. The school records for the city do not show her to have been a permanent member of the teaching force.[31] She substitute taught occassionally and for one three year period she had full time classroom work. Neither she nor her husband were listed as dues paying members of the institute but they attended regularly.

Ms. Wade's husbnad was listed in the census a a cashier in the

National Bank.[32] According to the census Ms. Wade was 43 three years of age and was listed as a school teacher. She had two children, Charles, age 13 and Elizabeth, age 8. Most of her housework was probably done by their German born made, Lucy Kohr. Ms. Wade had been born in England, as had her husband's parents. Both her children were born in Pennsylvania.

Miss Jennie Ralston, Ms. Wade's co-worker in publishing the Educational Voice, was like Ms. Martin, a teacher for more than twenty years in the Pittsburgh schools.[33] A graduate of the Pittsburgh High School, she was assigned to teach various subjects such as writing, drawing, and occassionally literature. When the High School was first established she served as a preceptress to female students and later taught methods of teaching in the normal department of the school. Ms. Ralston served as assistant secretary of the teachers' institute during the 1870's.[34] Like Ms. Wade she traveled to other institutes to lecture and/or give demonstrations. She attended meetings of the PSTA and served as corresponding secretary for that organization for several years.

Ms. Ralston could not be located in the Pittsburgh manuscript population census for 1870 or 1880 although she taught in the city school throughout this period. This suggests that she resided outside the city boundaries and commuted to school as did many teachers, according to the manuscript records of the Central Board of Education.[35] Identification of Ms. Ralston's social background awaits further research.

Miss Josie McCloskey was often called upon to give her "eloquent readings" at the Pittsburgh Teachers' Institute in the late 1870's and early 1880's. A primary teacher in the Soho school, at age 17, for four years. She seemed to have joined the institute as soon as she started her job. She held no offices in the institute although it appears she ran at least once.

Ms. McCloskey lived at home, with her widowed mother, her sister Rosa who was also a school teachers, and her brother who was listed in the census as a roller in 1880.[36] Althought the three siblings in the family were born in Pennsylvania, their mother and father had both come from Ireland. Minutes of the Soho school board show she left to marry.[37]

These four women were members of the teachers institute. Three were members for at least ten years.[38] These three were part of a small group of women who had taught or were involved in the schools for more than twenty years. But they were not the only women to have taught for such a long time. In fact there are just as many women who taught for twenty years or more who did not belong to the institute, the PSTA or demonstrate any active role in the school system outside their classrooms. Most of these women had risen to the grammar level within their schools but most women who remained in the system for a long time were promoted to this level.

Many of the teachers in the institute were native born; some claimed Irish parentage. Many seemed to have come from families with middle class status; a few were from working class backgrounds. A few were listed as heads of households, some were married, a few were widows, but most were single and lived at home with their parents.

The material presented here on women in the teachers' institute leaves several questions unanswered. Why did some women join while others did not? What were the activists' positions on the issues of local control of educational matters? Is it mere change that some of the active women were related by marriage or by birth to men who were also active in the school system? If we consider a wider range of activities within the school system would we find that the institute attracted only certain women or types of women? Perhaps other women found different channels to make their voices heard.

ENDNOTES

1 The information on the trend of female employment is taken from a table furnished by Jonas E. Wagner, Director of Statistics, Research and Reports of the State Department of Public Instruction, cited by Louise Gilchriese Walsh and Mathew John Walsh, History and Organization of Education in Pennsylvania (Indiana, Pennsylvania: Grosse Print Shop, 1930).

2 The figures presented here I have developed from manuscript and published lists of school teachers. See MS 69:18 Minutes of the Board of Directors for Lawrence Borough, 1840-1880; Ralston, 1847-1862; Fourth Ward, 1843-1868; North Ward, 1868-1880; Washington, 1865-1880; Humboldt, 1865-1880; Hiland, 1869-18880; Wickersham,1869-1880; Hancock, 1871-1880; Homewood, 1875-1880; Central Board, 1855-1880. MS 69:18 is located in the Archives of Industrial Society, University of Pittsburgh. In addition see the Pittsburgh Superintendent of Schools Reports, Vol.1, pp 61-70; Vol.2, p. 70; Vol.3, p71; Vol. 4, pp 14-16; Vol. 5, pp 224-233; Vol. 6, pp 47-58; Vol. 7, pp53-65; Vol.8, p.76; Vol. 9, pp 67-80; Vol. 10, pp4-5; Vol.11, pp87-99; Vol. 12,p.4; Vol13, pp61-73; Vol.14. p.4; Vol. 15, pp57-70; Vol.16,p.4; and Vol.17, pp.55-69.

3Maris Vinovskis and Richard M. Bernard, "Women in Eduaction in Antebellum America" unpublished manuscript offerred at the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, Fall, 1974, pp 10-13.

4 The description of the teachers institute is a composite of materials taken from William S. Taylor, The Development of the Professional Education of Teachers in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia:J.B.Lippincott, 1924) James Pyle Wickersham, A History of Education in Pennsylvania (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Inquirer Publishing Company, 1886); William D.McCoy, "History of Pittsburgh Public Schools", unpublished manuscript;and a general survey of the School Chronicle, Vol 1, and Educational Voice, Vol. 1.

5 The time framework of important events was taken from Walsh and Walsh, History and Organization of Education but can be found in any standard text on history of education in Pennsylvania.

6 Annual REport of the Superintendent of Common Schools, Seventeenth Annual Report, 1850 through the Forty-seventh Annual REport, 1880 (Harrisburg: A.Boyd Hamilton, State Printer).

7 My conclusions regarding the county superintendency as the solution to the problems facing the school system are drawn from the Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Common Schools for the years 1854 through 1865.

8 MS 69:18 Principals Reports to the Central Board of Education for Central High School, 1970-1880;Ralston, 1856-1868;Washington,!873-1880 in the Archives of Industrial Society,University of Pittsburgh.

9 Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania State Teachers Association(PSTA), Pennsylvania School Journal (PSJ) Vol.4 (July and August, 1855)pp 66-69.

10 MS 69:18 Principals Reports to the Central Board of Education

11 MS 69:18 Minutes of the Central Board of Education, 1855

12 Minutes of the Second Annual Meeting of the PSTA, PSJ Vol. 4, 66-69.

13 "More About Our Institutes", PSJ Vol. 22, no.1 (July, 1873), p.7.

14 " Work for Institutes-- No. 11", PSJ, Vol. 13 No. 6 (December, 1864), pp 140-141.

15 "Work for Institutes-- No.11", PSJ

16 I developed statistics here from lists of members contained in PSJ Vol. 4, pp 79; PSJ Vol. 14, No. 3, p55; PSJ Vol. 22 No. 3, p.111; PSJ Vol. 23, No. 3, p. 111 for members of the PSTA. For membership in the Teachers' Institute I used the extant volumes of the School Chronicle and the Educational Voice.

17 See the School Chronicle and the Educational Voice for evidence of women's general role in the institute.

18 Minutes of the Educational Convention of Allegheny, PSJ, Vol. 5 No. 9 (March, 1857), pp54-55.

19 PSJ Vol. 8 (July 1960) n.p.

20 PSJ Vol.18 (1870), p. 12.

21 School Chronicle Vol. 1 (April, 1870), pp. 18-19; Educational Voice Vol 1 no. 1,(1880), pp 1-3.

22 MS 69:18 Minutes of the Board of Directors, Ralston.

23 For information about Martin's membership in the PSTA see PSJ Vols 4, 13, 22, 23.

24 For information regarding Martin's membership in the teachers' institute see School Chronicle and Educational Voice.

25 MS 69"18 Principal's Report to the Central Board, Ralston.

26 Educational Voice Vol. VI No. 1 p. 2.

27 School Chronicle Vol. 1, p.50.

28 Manuscript Population Census, 1870, Pittsburgh Identification number 818, Ward 16, Page 21, Line 17.

29 Manuscript Population Census, 1880, Pittsburgh, Vol.6, Enumer ation district 106, Sheet 34, Line 22.

30 School Chronicle Vol. 1, p.50.

31 MS 69:18 Principal's Report to the Central Board and Minutes of the Sub-district School Board, Ralston.

32 Manuscript Population Census, Vol. 6, Enumeration district 106, Sheet 34, Line 21.

33 MS 69:18 Minutes of the Central Board of Eduaction, 1856- 1880.

34 School Chronicle Vol. 1, p. 21.

35 Pittsburgh Superintendent of Schools Reports, Vol. 1-17.

36 Manuscript Population Census, 1880, Pittsburgh, Vol 7, Enumeration district 129, Sheet 19, Line 45.

37 MS 69:18 Minutes of the Central Board of Education.

38 Information on all the women in the institute was established by linking each individual teacher listed in the manuscript and published lists to the population cnesuses for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880.

THE CONCEPT-STRUCTURE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE:
THE CONCEPT, THE PROCEDURE, AND APPLICATIONS

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THE CONCEPT-STRUCTURE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE: THE CONCEPT, THE PROCEDURE, AND APPLICATIONS

Introduction

The authors are members of a project at LRDC that is currently developing a method for probing students' structural knowledges of school subject matter. A major thrust of our work is to study how students' structural knowledges affect their ability to solve problems especially in the areas of science and mathematics.

We approach this research as individuals who perceive themselves first and foremost as educators with a strong interest in uncovering possible fruitful relationships between the problems, issues, and perspectives of instruction and those of psychology. Unlike psychologists who research cognitive structures, mental operations, etc., we are not attempting to produce verifiable models of the structure of human memory or of human information processing. Rather, we draw from cognitive science ideas and a perspective that suggest innovative strategies for teaching/learning situations. Our instructional research explores such issues as the effect of instruction on students' abilities to produce concept structures (Champagne, Klopfer, DeSena, Squires, 1977) and the relationship between students' abilities to structure concepts and their ability to solve academic problems such as verbal analogies (Champagne, Klopfer, DeSena, Squires, 1978).

While the technique we are helping to develop, called the Concept-Structure Analysis Technique (ConSAT), has thus far been used primarily to address research questions, our orientation had led us to consider, though unsystematically, the instructional implications of the method. Now, in this paper, after describing the ConSAT and how it relates to our research, we attempt to make more explicit and expand upon the ways the ConSAT may be of use to educators in a school environment. In setting about this particular task we have had to switch from our frame of reference as researchers on instruction to our reference frame as educational practitioners. You may, as we do, conceive of this report in part as a bridge between instructional research and practice.

Two sections precede the actual description of the ConSAT. The first presents a brief conceptual overview of the notion of structure in psychology and education. In the second we lay out our assumptions and values concerning the application of new techniques like the ConSAT in educational settings.

The Meaning of Structure in Education: A Conceptual Overview

The concept of structure ought to be familiar to almost everyone, especially to those of us who are in any way involved with the "production" and "transmission" of knowledge. "Structure" has often been a key concept in the human sciences and in philosophy. In sociology there is social structure; in psychology, cognitive structure; in linguistics, deep structure. Philosophers often speak of the structure of scientific theories or logical structures (Suppe, 1974). For some time educators have discussed, debated and attempted to base curricular decisions on the notion of discipline structure, (Gowin, 1970; Hullet, 1974; Mollet, 1975; Morgan, 1973) an idea that in many ways became, if nothing else, the symbol of the curriculum reform movement of the late 50's and 60's. (Note 1) The philosophical concept of discipline structure and the psychological notion of cognitive structure were prime contenders as principles for curriculum decision-making during that period. Discipline structure as a philosophical concept was probably explicated most thoroughly by Joseph Schwab (1964a, 1964b), whereas a figurehead of the psychological camp was David Ausubel (1964).

This list of domains in which the concept of structure has played an important role is by no means exhaustive, yet it should be lengthy enough to raise a doubt in the reader's mind, as it does in ours, that the term holds the same meaning in its various contexts. Indeed, the authors of this paper conducted a review of the psychological literature (Champagne, Klopfer, & DeSena, 1977) which revealed that even with respect to just one variant, cognitive structure, a number of alternative approaches exist. (Note 2)

The relationship between philosophical and psychological conceptions of knowledge and the role these conceptions play is of educational significance. (Note 3). Some authors would argue that the philosophical conception of logical structure of the discipline provides the foundation for decisions on teaching and learning. One such author, Phillip Phenix, as quoted by Maxine Greene (1973, p. 174) asserts "the identity of the psycho-logic of teaching and learning with the logic of the disciplines. . . ." For Phenix, the disciplines are "bodies of knowledge organized for the most effective instruction." (Greene, 1973, p. 174).

Most authors who consider structure important would call for an attention to both the philosophical and psychological positions in the context of teaching and learning. Greene, for example, recognizing the need for teachers to be generally aware of psychological theories on conceptual development states that the teacher "knows that he can do little if he is not aware of the concepts his pupils already possess and the relationships they are able to appreciate" (Greene, 1973, p. 147). Yet, she also values discipline structure as a goal of instruction.

> . . .one way to talk about effective teaching is to find out the degree to which students freely appropriate the norms of critical inquiry when they begin consciously to structure their experiences. The various academic disciplines represent potential ways of structuring. Each discipline uses distinctive methods and protocols in the pursuit of meanings. Each one presumes a value in the perspectives it makes possible--be they perspectives on the universe, on the economic life of the nation, on the structure of poetic forms. An individual has to be brought to care about proceeding reflectively and purposefully if he is to achieve the widening of vision made possible through mastery of a discipline. (Greene, 1973, p. 173)

What is lacking in Greene's account, however, is an explication of how the first, psychologically-based, and the second, philosophically grounded goals are to be related. The need for this integrative task, left by Greene to the teacher, is made more explicit by Novak (1977). Novak, drawing on the work of a philosopher, D. Bob Gowin, begins with five questions that will help teachers "unpack" knowledge, i.e., "the structure of the discipline," from learning materials, or activities:

1. What is (are) the telling question(s)?
2. What are the key concepts?
3. What methods of inquiry (procedural commitments) are used?
4. What are the major knowledge claims?
5. What are the value claims?
(Novak, 1977, p. 142)

Pursuing his topic from within the psychological framework of Ausubel whose theory discusses the development and role of superordinate concepts, Novak (1977, pp. 142-3) states:

> From a psychological standpoint, telling questions represent superordinate concepts or propositions that will be explicated through presentation of new knowledge and/or subordinate concepts.

Having tracked down his prey, Novak, we feel, lets it escape by not continuing the task of integrating the psychological and philosophical conceptions of structure. He leaves us, instead, with this unsettling appraisal:

> Although in many respects Gowin's "five questions" may appear trivial and obvious, my experience in working with students and educators is that these questions are profound. Rarely do teachers at any educational level have a clear conception of the structure of knowledge of their field, and even more rarely have they made explicit attempts to help students understand the structure of knowledge in the discipline. (Novak, 1977, p. 144)

In fact, the integration of the philosophical and psychological conceptions of structure--i.e., the ways they conceive knowledge--may pose more intractable problems. Connelly (1974, p. 5), commenting on the reforms of the 50's and 60's, takes such a pessimistic stand.

> While [the science curriculum development activity] began with philosophical concerns for knowledge and for inquiry, it was largely dominated by the works of a few psychologists, notably, Bruner, Ausubel, Gagné, and, to a certain extent, Piaget. An examination of the science curricula governed by the first three of these psychologists shows that each inadequately conceptualizes scientific knowledge and leads to unsupportable instructional recommendations. The identified limitations are

> the result of implicitly embodying conceptions of knowledge and knowing in curriculum materials which were derived from psychological notions of cognitive structure and of how it develops and functions, rather than from philosophical considerations of knowledge structures and of how they develop and function in fields of inquiry and in the mind.

Thus, the question we extract from Connelly's assertion remains--and will remain throughout this paper: For the purposes of instruction, can there by an integration of the notion of structure that faithfully represents both the knowledge being taught and the way it is learned? Is the task of integration as serious as Connelly implies, that the psychological concept of cognitive structure, by the very assumptions it is founded on, cannot adequately represent "knowledge"? Or is the task more simply an additive one, as Novak's writings suggest, i.e., that the necessary condition will be met when one is sufficiently cognizant of both the structure of knowledge and the cognitive structures of the learners? (Note 4)

Before we close this section, we must make the reader aware of some terminological confusion in the literature of this area. Often found in writings on this subject are the following terms: cognitive structure, discipline structure, logical structure, conceptual structure, knowledge structure, and content structure. This is not the place to burden the reader with all of the variations on the theme, but merely to recommend that careful attention be paid to the usage of any particular author and to the frame of reference of that author. For example, Connelly (1974), a philosopher, distinguishes between cognitive structures--the psychological concept--and knowledge structures--the philosophical one. Many psychologists, however, (see Greeno, in press, for example), use "knowledge structures" to refer to one aspect of cognitive structures. Finally, it appears to us that some psychologists have not adequately differentiated the meanings of cognitive structure in their own literature. Preece (1976, p. 1), for instance, cites

Piaget in the context of his (Preece's) discussion of cognitive structure when Piaget's notion of structure bears little if any resemblance to his own.

Applying a Technique in Educational Settings: Some Considerations

Two major claims structure, if you will, our thinking about the application of techniques derived from instructional research to educational settings. The first is that any technique embodies within it assumptions about the nature of knowledge, about how humans learn, and about the role of the teacher. Programmed texts, for example, are based in a position that takes knowledge to be behavior, that sees learning as a process of reinforcement, and that minimizes the role of the teacher as a transmitter of knowledge or as an interacter with students.

The second proposition is that no matter how the developers of a technique conceive of their product, regardless of what their assumptions are about knowledge, students, and the instructor's role, how the technique is used --or the meaning it comes to take on -- will depend on how an individual teacher perceives it in relation to her or his frame of reference. Such a frame of reference includes both the teacher's set of assumptions and the way he or she perceives the reality of the school situation, one aspect being the teacher's perception of the degree to which instructional "experimentation" is permissible and feasible. It is through the teacher that any technique developed in a research setting takes on "a life of its own."

In our case the technique is a modest one with respect to the degree of change it requires. But we believe that our two claims are applicable to large-scale "reforms" as well. The work of Bussis *et al.* (1976)

exemplifies such a position as ours. In their case the reform they studied was a substantial one, the implementation of the "open classroom" model. Particularly pertinent is a distinction they propose between the surface content of the curriculum and the organizing content, between what the teacher and students do (what an observer would see) and what the teacher intends. Bussis _et al._ (p.50) encapsulate the distinction in this way: "If the surface content can be considered the _what_ of curriculum, then organizing content is the _what for_." These authors then speculate about the connections between these two aspects of curriculum:

> Having distinguished between activities in the classroom (surface content) on the one hand, and learning priorities (organizing content) on the other, a set of questions may be asked about the connections and interconnections between the two. First, what connections does the teacher perceive between his priorities and what is going on in the classroom? For what purposes, in the teacher's mind, are children building a block castle, or pouring water through funnels, or making books filled with their own stories? Second, does the teacher conceive of a particular set of activities as serving only one priority, with a separate set of activities serving another? Or are activities and materials viewed from many perspectives and seen as potentially valuable for a number of learning priorities? The teacher who construes connections between the surface and organizing content of curriculum is better able to transform his intentions for learning into the guidance of learning, and may see new connections in the process. When such connections are noticeably lacking, a child is not likely to receive much guidance or support in the purposeful pursuit of an activity. (Bussis et al, 1976,p.51)

In later sections we describe in some detail how we envision the surface content aspect of the ConSAT --what an observer might see going on in a classroom where the ConSAT is in use. In those sections we also sketch pictures of a variety of perspectives, the priorities we see the ConSAT serving. And, as it should be obvious from what we have already said, we are clearly aware that the set of possibilities we see is not the total set. Ultimately it is up to the teacher to sort out his or her perspectives and to view the ConSAT "as potentially valuable for a number of learning priorities." It is a purpose of this section, however, for us to explain ourselves -- to lay out the assumptions and values that have guided the development of the ConSAT. In one sense these assumptions define our ideal -- how things would work "in the best of all possible worlds." This is the researcher's prerogative. On the other hand, having been in the schools, we are aware of the realities of the schools. This is the instructor's predicament. (We are aware, of course, that in the final analysis the instructor's predicament is also the researcher's.)

The assumptions and values we hold, once again, concern the nature of knowledge, the learning process, and the role of the teacher. Each is taken in turn here, and in later sections reappears as the ConSAT is described.

Nature of knowledge Along with Maxine Greene, Joseph Novak and others, we value the academic disciplines as one set of means by which humans can make sense out of their world. While we are aware that it is often difficult to "unpack" the structure of a discipline and that various individuals would unpack it in different ways, we value the notion of discipline structure for the set of questions it raises about knowledge and the implications of the nature of knowledge for instruction. As you will learn in the next sections, the instructional materials used in our research were designed with structural principles in mind -- mostly those principles associated with questions 1 and 2 of Gowin's five questions. Also, the analysis aspect of the ConSAT relies on our interpretation of the structure of the subject matter, in this case descriptive geology.

But having said this -- having presented our position with respect to the idea of structure of the discipline -- we also realize that it is not always possible nor adviseable to use the concept. Thus, the applicability of the ConSAT to general skills such as reading is discussed in a later section.

It should also be mentioned that the ConSAT, as we use it, does not address questions 3,4, and 5 of Gowin's list. Possible avenues of approach to such questions have been suggested by others (see Kilbourn,1970).

How students learn   It should be obvious that we assume that individuals learn by structuring knowledge, by organizing knowledge in intelligible and meaningful patterns. It should not yet be clear what we mean by structural learning.

The psychological framework that we have drawn from while developing the ConSAT views the learning process as the active construction by the individual of conceptual networks or structures. Shavelson (1974,p.236), for example, defines a concept as "a set of relations among other concepts" and cognitive structure as "a hypothetical construct referring to the organization (relationships) of concepts in memory" (Shavelson,1974,p.232). The relations that link concepts into networks include:

(a) superset: flowers may be roses
(b) subset: rose is a flower
(c) attribute: fragrance is an attribute of a rose
(d) part: flower is a part of a plant
(e) similarity: a horse is like a pony
(f) proximity: flower is grown/seen in a nursery
(g) antecedent/consequent: change in temperature of gas causes change in volume
(h) operations: force equals mass times acceleration
(Shavelson,1974,p.236)

The ways some of these relations and others structure text materials we have studied (i.e. the content structure of instructional materials) is discussed later. At this point it is necessary to understand only that this view conceives learning as the grasping of relations between concepts and the construction of ever more complex conceptual structures (sometimes called knowledge structures). This should not imply that the task of instruction is merely to point out salient relations which will then be immediately comprehended by the student. The question of how to help students develop conceptual structures is a separate and complex issue. In this regard, note that some of the relations produce hierarchical structures, e.g. superset, subset, and part --i.e. class-inclusion relations; and, from the work of Piaget and his collaborators (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969), we know that such relations -- and the hierarchies that form from them -- are generally not understood by younger students.

One virtue of the ConSAT -- as seen through our sense of priorities -- is that it enables the teacher to readily and "pictorially" ascertain what "concepts his pupils already possess and the relationships they are able to appreciate" (see page 4) as well as to monitor changes in understanding of these concepts and relations. We also show in a later section how the ConSAT probes for higher level skills on Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives.

Role of the teacher Perhaps the most important thing we can convey here is the value we place on the interactive nature of the process of teaching and learning. Although the ConSAT could be used in a group lecture mode of instruction, we feel it was "made for" modes characterized by much more interaction between individuals, whether "one-on-one" interactions or those between small groups. To preview what is more fully discussed later in the paper, the ConSAT may help the inquiring teacher learn more about his or her assumptions about knowledge, learning, and the teaching role through the teacher's employment of this technique. The ConSAT requires the teacher to observe and question students in order to clarify the students' structures. Accomplishing this requires the best of a teacher devoted to the complex task of helping students learn,and learning from the students how they can best be taught.

Finally, with respect to those circumstances in which the teacher is developing curricula, we can report from our experience that the ConSAT can be used to reveal the structure "behind" curriculum development work. The ConSAT has been helpful to us as a tool our curriculum development team can use to compare knowledge structures team members bring to the task.

Construction of a ConSAT--The Research

In the preceding two sections of this paper we first presented a conceptual overview of the idea of structure as formulated within two disciplines relevant to education--philosophy and psychology. We then identified our assumptions and values about the nature of knowledge, the role of structure in learning, and the roles of teacher and student in the learning process.

The remainder of the paper is divided into two parts. In the first, we discuss how the ConSAT was developed in the context of our research. That background information is followed by a rationale for the ConSAT as an instructional process. We then provide a number of suggestions for improving instruction using the ConSAT and, finally, discuss certain limitations of the technique.

Overview of the ConSAT

We describe here the surface content, "the perceptible form" (Bussis, et al, 1977, p.50) of the ConSAT; this is what would be seen if an observer watched our research with the ConSAT.

A student, excused from a science class, enters a room where the researcher sits at a table. After introductions and small talk, the researcher tells the student, "We are trying to find out how students think about terms in geology." The student is then given a practice ConSAT which contains anatomical terms. Once familiar with the procedure, the student is ready for the geology ConSAT. The researcher hands the student a group of cards and asks the student to read the words on the cards. After each card is read, the student puts the concept into one of two piles called "Words I know" and "Words I don't know." Knowledge of the word is determined by the student. If the student had seen the word before, it is accepted in the "Words I know pile." The "Words I don't know" pile is set aside.

The researcher then asks the student to arrange the "words I know"pile on a large piece of paper "to show how you think about the words." While completing the arrangement, or after its completion, the student is asked to tell why the terms are arranged in this manner. As the student points out relationships between the words, the researcher connects the related words or groups of words with a line, and then labels the line with the relationship which the student reported. The researcher also asks questions about further relationships or connections that the student may understand but might not have verbalized.

At times the student may change a card from one position to another. The researcher encourages this and asks questions about the change, while noting the lines and relationships. The student seems satisfied with the final arrangement, but still asks, "Did I do all right?" "Is that the way you see it?" the researcher replies. The student nods. "Then I guess we're done."

Criteria for choosing concepts for research

The simplicity of the ConSAT's surface content masks some of the complexity of the "organizing content" (Bussis, et al., 1977, p. 50). We have chosen to share some of the complexity through a discussion of how the terms were chosen for the ConSAT. We review the steps of the ConSAT in order to highlight some of the complex decisions involved in its construction. These are intended to be suggestive for teachers considering the requirements of the task.

The first process, that of choosing the concepts, appears to be simple. At once, however, we become mired in the issue of how to generate the criteria by which the concepts are chosen. Certainly, for the teacher who is knowledgeable in the subject matter, a judgment of the importance of the concepts is a general criterion that could be applied. In fact, this may be sufficient.

However, as researchers, we grappled with the problem of establishing criteria for the selection of concepts and found this theoretical task to be a rather knotty one. We share some of the pieces of the puzzle we identified since anyone attempting to use the ConSAT may find it necessary to deal with some or all of these criteria. As a first step for selecting the terms, we examined the instructional materials our project had prepared.

The instructional materials deal with the subject of minerals and rocks, and consist of a segment of the field-testing version of the Lyell Unit of the Individualized Science program. (Note 5) The Lyell Unit covers aspects of descriptive, historical, and physical geology; the Invitation to Explore (ITE) Minerals and Rocks is primarily descriptive geology. To indicate the scope and sequence of topics and activities in the ITE Mineral and Rocks, its table of contents is reproduced in Figure 1. The student's booklet for the ITE is 67 typewritten pages long, and consists of reading text, manipulative activities (see Explorations A through H in Figure 1), and student self-administered progress tests. On the average, a student completes the ITE in three to four weeks with five 45 minute periods per week.

The design of the material reflects the value the authors place in structural learning. Consequently, ITE Minerals and Rocks was designed intentionally to incorporate structural features of the content of descriptive geology. The structural relations include hierarchical class-inclusion, transformational, and definitional relations. Certain of these relations are evident in the lesson's table of contents (Figure 1) which shows that the ITE is organized in part around (1) the definition of a mineral and (2) the taxonomic classification of rocks. Because we value structural relationships, these then become one of the criteria by which terms are chosen. Specifically, key concepts are identified on the basis of whether they are included in the hierarchical class-inclusion and transformational structures embodied in the instructional material. Thus, we examined the instruction with this criterion in mind to determine how these structural relations are included in the material.

The ITE begins by setting a conceptual context for the student. The material covered in the ITE is represented visually--and structurally--with a drawing (see Figure 2) illustrating the nestings of major concepts and examples of the concepts. The introductory narrative summarizes these relations and they are elaborated on throughout the text of the ITE.

Transformational relations are another major structural feature of the lesson. This is illustrated in the excerpt shown in Figure 3. In addition to the hierarchical division of rocks into igneous, sedimentary and metamorphic rocks, and their sub-divisions (as represented in the Table of Contents), the rock-cycle transformations structure the text, again visually and verbally. Exploration H presents the student with a concrete experience with these relations, when (s)he compares the physical properties of two pairs of related sedimentary and metamorphic rocks, specifically limestone/marble and shale/slate.

The ConSAT contains three key words (igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic) that cue the classification of the rocks on the basis of the way in which they are formed.

Classification by this scheme using these words results in the hierarchical class inclusion structure shown in Figure 4. This hierarchy represents words of three levels of abstraction. The words in the level of least abstraction are analogous and all bear the same relationship to words in the second level. Thus, each arrow can be labeled in the same way, as shown by the underlined phrase in these examples:

Granite is in the class of igneous rocks.

Shale is in the class of sedimentary rocks.

Slate is in the class of metamorphic rocks.

The words in the second level of abstraction in Figure 4 are also analogous and all bear the same relationship to "rock." The relationship that holds between each of these words and "rock" is expressed by the underlined phrase in this example:

Igneous is a class of rock.

Note that the relationship between words in the lowest level and the intermediate level and the relationship between words in the intermediate level and the highest level are not the same.

In addition to the concepts and relations that yield the hierarchical class-inclusion structure, there are also concepts and relationships which define the rock cycle and yield a transformational structure. (Note 6) We previously illustrated the rock cycle in one of the excerpts from the ITE Minerals and Rocks (see Figure 3), and it is shown more formally in Figure 5. In this figure the arrows between the classes of rock do not always represent a single process. In fact, they often represent the stepwise occurrence of as many as five substeps. These substeps are detailed in Figure 6.

The complex set of transformations and relationships depicted in Figure 6 can be represented in a composite diagram of the rock cycle. An example of such a diagram is shown in Figure 7. Here the various transformations which apply to the particular rocks and other substances serve to illustrate and amplify the geologic principle embodied in the central representation of the rock cycle (*cf*. Figure 5 above). We might note that it was necessary to enter two rock names (limestone, shale) in two different places in the diagram of Figure 7 to make the composite representation complete.

Up to this point, the hierarchical class-inclusion relations of the words and their cyclical transformation relations have been considered separately. It should not come as a surprise, however, that the two kinds of structural relations can be integrated into a single structure. The integrated structure contains examples of rocks which can be incorporated both as members of the hierarchy and as examples of the rock cycle transformations. Diagrammatically the integrated structure takes the form, shown in Figure 8. Notice that this diagram is built around the hierarchical class inclusion relations, but the structure could just as well have been visually displayed to highlight the cyclical transformation relations.

An important feature of the integrated structure is its parsimony. There are other possible relations that might be added, but they add no meaning to the structure. For example, all of the examples of rocks could correctly be connected directly to "rock," but this information is already implied in the hierarchy. Similarly, "shale" and "limestone" could be connected in this way:

$$\text{shale} \xleftrightarrow[\text{sedimentary rocks}]{\text{are both examples of}} \text{limestone}$$

but again no meaning is added. The integrated structure shown in Figure 8 is also parsimonious in the sense that none of the terms are repeated, as was the case for the diagram in Figure 7. In a parsimonious way, the integrated structure represents the integration of two important facets of the structural basis of geology. We would expect to find both represented in structures produced by individuals knowledgeable about geology.

If we return to Gowin's questions used to determine the structure of a discipline--(1) what are the key concepts? and (2) what are the telling questions? we see that we are very close to answering both. The key concepts have been identified. The telling question alluded to in our discussion of parsimony, is, "What principles parsimoniously order the concepts of geology?" And we have discovered two, a hierarchical class inclusion principle integrated with the more theoretical notion of a rock formation cycle. Thus, the criterion of parsimony is intertwined with the more philosophical notion of structure of the discipline.

The philosophical notion of structure of a discipline may be one that many teachers feel uncomfortable working with, and hence, they may choose not to incorporate it into their use of the ConSAT. We do believe, however, that the content structure of curriculum materials represent, in part, some of the ideas of discipline structure; to understand the materials may be a beginning toward understanding, at least in part, the structure of a discipline.

There are also mundane, yet no less important criteria for the choice of terms in the ConSAT. We found that the number of concepts used in the ConSAT affected students' ability to structure. For example, in our preliminary research (Champagne et al., 1977, unpublished manuscript), we asked the students to organize 32 concepts taken from the complete Lyell unit--the concepts included examples of rocks, minerals, crystalline shapes, as well as igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic--the organizing terms for the structural relations. We found that the information the students generated with the 32 concepts was not useful for determining their structural knowledge because of the multiplicity of ways in which the concepts could be structured. Consequently, the terms were divided into three more limited ConSATs (see Figure 9)--the ATOM ConSAT, the MINERAL ConSAT, and the ROCK ConSAT which we have explained in this paper. A fuller description of these different ConSATs is contained in (Champagne et al., 1977, 1978). By limiting the scope of concepts included in the ConSAT while also limiting the domain from which the concepts were drawn, information the students gave was, we feel, a more complete representation of the way they thought about the concepts and their relations. This problem of the number of concepts and the scope of the content included in the ConSAT will also have to be faced by the teacher if the technique is to be used in the classroom. We suspect that the factors of subject matter domain, structure of the curriculum material, and the objectives and values of the teacher are general criteria which will affect these decisions. Beyond that, trial and error may be the best teacher.

To summarize, the choice of concepts may be determined by a complex interaction of various criteria, such as the teacher's estimation of the 1) importance of the concepts 2) the organization of the instructional materials which may reflect the authors' understanding of structural relationships 3) the parsimony of the structure 4) and the number and scope of concepts included in the ConSAT. We speculate that teachers, as they become familiar with the ConSAT, will be able to identify other criteria which are used in their settings, as each teacher will adapt the ConSAT according to their assumptions about knowledge, learning, and the role of the teacher.

After the problems of designing the ConSAT were overcome, the technique was administered to students as illustrated by the vignette, (p. 13). This part of the paper explains how the data generated from the ConSAT was analyzed, in order to partially answer the question, "What does the ConSAT tell us about students' ability to structure knowledge?" To begin this task, we used the integrated structure, shown in Figure 8, as a standard by which to judge the students' ConSATs. Thus, it was possible to judge whether the student structure corresponded with the expert structure.

The degree of correspondence between student and expert structures is ascertained by assessing the extent to which certain crucial attributes of the expert structure are present in the student structure. First, from a careful analysis of the expert structure, we prepare qualitative descriptions of the crucial attributes it exhibits. Then we search the student structure for the attributes and, depending on whether they are present or absent, we assign the student structure to one of several structure classes. These structure classes, which are defined chiefly on the basis of the crucial attributes of the expert structure, are arranged in order of increasing complexity. In the lowest structure class, the organizing attribute is simply some graphemic property common to the words themselves. In the more complex classes, the words are treated as concepts and it is the concepts which are structured according to various attributes that relate them. See Figure 10.

It is necessary to point out that at this stage of our research, each ConSAT demands the construction of a new analytical scheme, such as the one in Figure 10. In an instructional setting, this may not always be possible, or necessary, as the teacher may choose to analyze each students ConSATs with his/her own implicit criteria rather than attempting the more difficult process of generating and organizing explicit criteria. We have found the structures that the students generate in pre and post instructional ConSATs to be quite revealing of their depth of knowledge about geology and their ability to structure. Appendix I explains how three students' ConSATs were analyzed using the analytical scheme in Figure 10.

This section of the paper serves as a theoretical and practical introduction to those who decide to use the ConSAT as an instructional tool and gives a relatively extensive account of the development of the ConSAT technique. Further, we hope that the specific examples from our research have illustrated the amount and the complexity of the information which is available when the ConSAT is employed.

The Use of the ConSAT in Instruction

In this section, we offer a rationale for the value of a ConSAT as an instructional tool, we suggest a range of ways it can be used in the classroom, and we discuss the current limits of our own knowledge about the use of ConSAT. The benefits we see for the ConSAT as an instructional tool are derived from the assumptions we hold about the nature of knowledge, the learning process, and the role of the teacher.

Rationale

The following is a brief list of the ways we value the ConSAT as an instructional tool. First, the ConSAT is a relatively simple and quick procedure (10 to 20 minutes) for students to generate and teachers to assess students' understandings and integration of concepts in a structural representation of their knowledge. We also believe that the amount and richness of the information a teacher can attain from a ConSAT is quite different from the usual forms of assessment by multiple choice tests or observation. The process emphasizes the importance of "looking into" what and how a student is thinking. Further, knowledge and structure are presented in a visual modality, which, hopefully, attends to the needs of learners who may need to rely on props.

Also, we learned that the ConSAT promoted discussion between the researcher and the student. The ConSAT process, by cueing the student to what is important, and through the student's physical manipulation of the cards, made it easier to talk about what the student felt was known or unknown. For the researcher, the ConSAT process provides a structure from which specific probes can be generated to reveal the structural characteristics of a student's knowledge. In other words, we found that it was an easy way to realize what a student knew and also what the student was unsure about or did not know at all.

We are reminded of an article by Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976, p. 97) on tutoring:

> The effective tutor must have at least two theoretical models to which he must attend. One is the theory of the task or the problem and how it may be completed. The other is a theory of performance characteristics of his tutee. . . .The actual pattern of effective instruction, then, will be both task and tutee dependent, the requirements of the tutorial being generated by the interaction of the tutor's two theories.

This argument is similar to the one presented at the beginning of this paper on the relationship between the philosophical and psychological aspects of the educational process. The performance characteristics of the tutee are similar to the psychological aspects of learning, while the theory of the task resembles the more philosophical aspects. Both are contained within the ConSAT.

Third, the nature of the ConSAT emphasizes that there is no one best way to structure information. The student, through the ConSAT, represents his/her perceptions of the concepts and relationships. We believe this is an ideal place to begin instruction. Although the standard of an "expert" structure may be available, it is still possible to construct a great variety of expert structures depending on the criteria used for the generation of the ConSAT. We refer you back to Gowin's five questions concerning discipline structure and ask you to think about the many ways these questions might be answered. Further, because the concepts are displayed on cards, the student can easily modify his structure either when probed by the teacher or when he feels a better representation of his understanding is possible. This feature of the ConSAT reinforces the idea that knowledge can be structured in many ways, none of which is timeless (Greene, 1973, p. 175). We would hope this would eliminate dogmatic adherence to one set of "right" answers. Additionally, a student's structural changes from pre- to post-instruction in a ConSAT are at times rather dramatic, concrete evidence of the student's growth of knowledge and the ability to structure.

Lastly, the ConSAT enhances student's skills in the integration and synthesis of knowledge, a high level intellectual skill in Bloom's taxonomy. Knowledge acquisition, then, is not viewed as a series of isolated facts to be remembered; rather, the ConSAT provides an opportunity for students to synthesize knowledge in a personal way.

The ConSAT is not the be all and end all, however. At the end of this section, we discuss both some of the ConSAT's limitations and the present limits of our own knowledge about the ConSAT's applicability in instruction. First, however, we take a look at some instructional uses of the ConSAT.

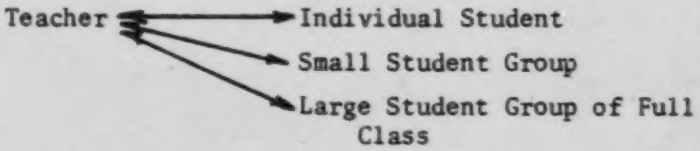
The Social Context of the ConSAT

So far, we have only described how the ConSAT was used in the context of our research. During the development and research stages of the ConSAT, we also made a number of presentations about the ConSAT to teachers taking university classes. Many of the ideas reviewed here have flowed from the helpful suggestions of these practitioners. Specifically, we have discussed the use of the ConSAT with the people in the following situations: a class for science education student teachers, reading specialists, a seminar in educational consulting in the Program of Curriculum and Supervision, a class in middle school curriculum development, and a class in curriculum analysis. Our discussions in these various contexts have convinced us of the general utility on the ConSAT as an instructional tool.

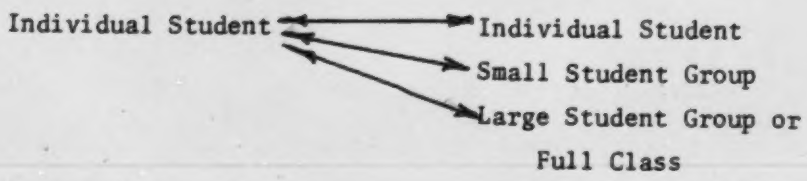
One of the most intriguing aspects of the ConSAT which we found in our research and our talks with teachers is the emphasis in the ConSAT task on the social aspects of the student/teacher relationship. The student has a chance to explain how he/she integrates a segment of knowledge in with verbal and spatial dimensions. The cards and the nature of the task provide convenient cues, to help the student verbalize and represent how s/he thinks. On the other hand, the teacher, through probing at particular points, can raise issues, ask questions, as well as observe the processes of the student. If we contrast this with the more usual procedures of asking questions and receiving answers, we find that the types of questions asked by both students and teachers are much different. (We have no empirical evidence for this assertion, only our own experience. The teachers who use the ConSAT might want to test this assertion.) For example, a usual queston during classroom discussion might be "What are the three ways rocks can be classified?" If the student has memorized the answer of igneous, sedimentary and metamorphic, s/he is said to have the correct answer. Given the ConSAT, however, it is easily observed whether the student knows the answer to that question by the way in which s/he structures the terms. This difference is evident by reviewing the differences between the pre sorts of subject 3 and 18 (Figure A) explained in Appendix I. It is also easy to assess what other concepts and relationships are known. For example, from subject 18 it is clear that the student not only knows the three types of rocks, but has integrated them into a hierarchial and transformational structures. The social context of the task then focuses on the interactions between the teacher and the student in a session which is, as we have suggested, in part tutorial in nature. We will represent this diagramatically as IS $\longleftrightarrow$ T where IS is the individual student, T is the teacher and the double arrow indicates the communication which goes on between them. We assert that the ConSAT increases both the amount and quality of the communication.

(Additionally, our own beliefs are that knowledge is, in part, a social phenomenon, which involves the structuring and integration of information in a social setting.)

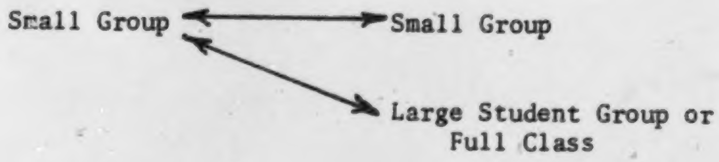
There are other social resources students and teachers can call upon to share and discuss their knowledge structures: other individual students, groups of students, and other teachers. The combinations of all of those different resources will not be completely explained. Rather, we suggest the following series of diagrams as a way of suggesting the many varieties of ways by which the ConSAT can be used in the social context. Then we suggest and describe specific social relations which, we hope, will illustrate how the ConSAT could be used in other social contexts of the classroom.



We have already discussed the issue of the ConSAT in terms of the teacher and an individual student. We would also suggest that the ConSAT could be used in a similar manner either between the teacher and small groups or the whole class. This may be particularly instructive for showing students how the teacher structures a group of concepts. For example, the teacher might put a ConSAT on the board, while lecturing. Or the teacher could ask individuals in the class to structure the concepts before and after a lecture presentation, and then ask students to compare their structures to the teacher's in order to test the adequacy of their representations.


Individual Student
Individual Student
Small Student Group
Large Student Group or
Full Class

Similarly, in the above diagram, individual students might dialog about their structures between other individuals, small groups, or the whole class. In this case, it may be necessary for the teacher to generate questions about the quality of the structures that students could apply when comparing their different structural representations.


Small Group
Small Group
Large Student Group or
Full Class

The diagram above illustrates tht the ConSAT could be used as a way of achieving a dialog between small groups of students and other small groups or the whole class. For example, a small group of students might be given the assignment to structure the important terms in a biology chapter to be used as a review. The students could then present their structure to the whole class.

Other variations are also possible. Various parts of the technique could be performed by various individuals or groups in the classroom situation. For example, the teacher could choose the terms from which the students could construct structural representations. Or, one group of students could choose the terms; another, structure those terms; another, evaluate the structure.

The variety of the ways to use the ConSAT in the social context of the classroom have been touched on only briefly here. The teachers, with their own assumptions about knowledge, learning, and their role, will adopt and modify the ConSAT to meet the realities of their own classrooms.

In the last section we discussed various social contexts in which the ConSat could be used in the classroom. In this section we explore how the ConSAT could be used during the phases of the instructional process, specifically in assesing and evaluating the students' learning and in the activities of reading and writing.

Assessment and Evaluation of Students' Learning

In whatever social context the ConSAT is used, we believe (Note 7) it provides a way of assessing before instruction, and evaluating after instruction, students' understanding of the concepts, their structure and relationships. If the teacher chooses the concepts for the students to structure during the assessment, the process clues the students to the key terms that they will encounter in instruction. Further, it encourages students to evaluate what they already know. What teachers sometimes teach students is not new concepts or new ideas, but new ways of structuring those concepts. For example, in a classroom the teacher might write the important concepts on the board. The students would then be asked to place the concepts they didn't know in a pile and to structure the remaining concepts to show how they think about them, including relationships that they see between the concepts indicated by the labeled lines. While the students are doing this the teacher could walk around the room, looking at the structures in order to become familiar with what concepts the students know, and how they structure those concepts. (It may take time and practice with the ConSAT on the part of students and the teacher to make this task worthwhile.) If these initial structures are saved, they can then be compared with a ConSAT done by the students at the end of an instructional sequence, in order to help the students and teacher evaluate the changes brought about by the instruction.

Depending on the concepts and the subject matter, the teacher might look for some of the following during the assessment and/or evaluation exercises. 1) Do students tend to try to connect the concepts together in an integrated fashion? 2) What criteria are students using when they group concepts together? (See Appendix I) 3) What relationships do students tend to see between concepts? 4) Are these relationships based on their personal experiences, or do they conform more to the way subject matter specialists would see those relationships? 5) Do students realize that there are different levels of abstraction in the ConSAT or do they structure the different levels together? Answers to these questions of course will vary; students fortunately are not the same. The discerning teacher will be able to detect patterns of responses, which can then be addressed in further instruction. We believe the ConSAT, when used in this manner, helps to sensitize both the teacher and the student to the variety of student structures and student abilities.

Instruction

In this section we discuss the use of the ConSAT in instruction involving reading and writing. Although there are many other instructional procedures we could talk about, we have chosen these two, as they are the most common in classrooms we are familiar with. It is hoped that the suggestions made in this section can be generalized by the teacher to other instructional tasks.

Reading

Reading is an interactive process through which the content structure of the material is integrated into the cognitive structure of the reader. How this interactive process happens remains largely unknown. This definition of reading we believe to be consistent with our assumptions about the structural characteristics of knowledge and the interactive nature of learning. Further, we assume that a student who is able to choose important concepts from a reading selection, and represent those concepts in a structure that mirrors the structure of the selection, will be able to more easily integrate these structures into their own cognitive structure. (Note 8).

The ConSAT can help readers to recognize the content structure of a particular passage, identify their own structure, and sythesize the two structures by evaluating, then combining both. Our definition of reading then emphasizes the students' use of higher order intellectual skills. In terms of Bloom's taxonomy (1954) reading involves the ability to synthesize, "to put together elements and parts so as to form a whole. This involves the process of working with pieces, parts, elements, etc., and arranging and combining them in such a way as to constitute a pattern or structure not clearly there before (p. 206)". We believe that the first step in reading is identifying the content structure of the passage -- "a structure not clearly there before." The parts or elements are the identified concepts arranged and combined through relationships to provide the structure of a particular reading selection.

Once the student has mirrored the structure of the selection, s/he then must evalute the usefulness of this structure in terms of his/her own cognitive structure. Although the criteria by which this is done are by no means clear, we would propose that this requires the intellectual skill of evaluation defined by Bloom (1954, p. 107) as, "Judgments about the value of material and methods for given purposes. Quantitative and qualitative judgements about the extent to which material and methods satisfy criteria. Use of a standard of appraisal." The student then, during or after reading, must evaluate not only the adequacy of the structure of the reading selection, but also the adequacy of his/her own representation of cognitive structure in comparison to the structure of the selection.

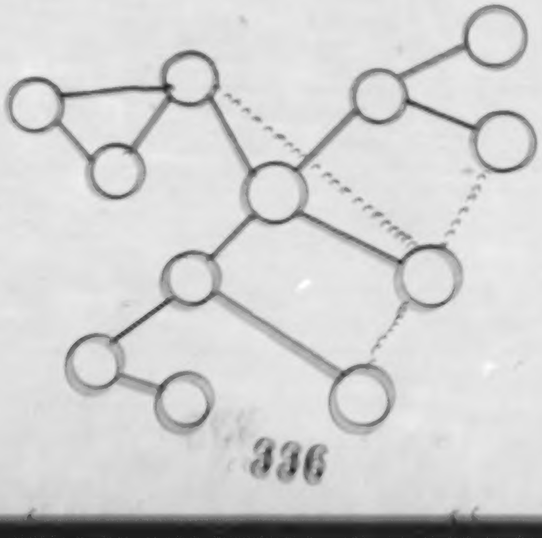
Once the student has made these evaluative decisions, the student must synthesize or integrate the structure of the material with his/her cognitive structure, again calling on high order intellectual skills (Note 9). Reading as a process, then, is very much dependent on the students' ability to discern structure in the material, make judgements about that structure, and integrate or sythesize the structure into his/her own cognitive structure. We believe that the ConSAT could be used in reading instruction to help the student realize the complex nature of the reading process and use that forum to help improve reading skills by opening the process for observation, analysis and discussion. For example, the first step in the ConSAT is to choose the important concepts for the reading selection. "What are the main ideas?" or "What are the important words?" are questions that are common in most reading assignments. The concepts or ideas that a student chooses determines in part how the student will structure the reading selection. We return here to the criteria of importance discussed earlier. The student will have to master, to some degree, the skill of choosing the important concepts or ideas before going on to the next step of the ConSAT -- structuring those concepts and ideas. "How does the author structure or organize the concepts?" or "What are the relationships between the concepts?" are two questions which as the student to represent the author's structure. We would suggest that the concepts be put on cards and placed on a large sheet of paper with relationships between the concepts indicated by lines which are labeled to indicate the relationship a student discerns in the reading. Students may have a difficult time separating what they know and believe from the structure of the reading, particularly if the reading in controversial. The ConSAT provides a method for making explicit to the student both the structure of the reading and the structure of his/her own knowledge. Student problems in structuring reading, we believe, provide valuable insights into how the students process information in a reading selection. We would also assert that the final product is not as important as the process the students go through in the structuring task. Questions from the teacher, such as "Why did you choose to structure the concepts in this way?" may allow the students to gain a greater consciousness of their own processing strategies and abilities.

The integration or synthesis of the representation of the student's cognitive structure in the ConSAT with the structure of the passage is the final step. The students could be asked to combine their initial ConSAT with the ConSAT developed from the reading, in a way that makes sense for them. Again, we would suggest discussing a number of questions regarding this process such as: Does the student's final structure look more like the initial structure or the author's structure? Why? What insights did the student gain about the author? about him/herself? How has the student's ideas changed? Why? How is this reflected in the structure? Does the student feel the final synthesized structure is adequate? If not how could it be changed? What are the advantages and disadvantages the student finds in trying to learn through this process? By the tenor of our questions, we hope to suggest that the ConSAT can provide insight into students' own conception of knowledge and the process of learning.

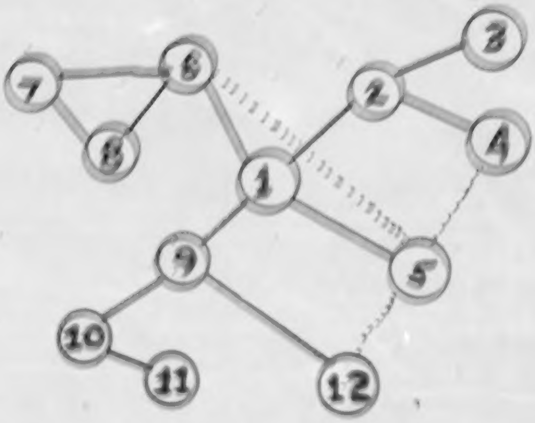
Writing

If reading is an interactive process through which the content structure of the material is integrated into the cognitive structure of the reader, writing might be defined as the process by which the writer's cognitive structure is transformed into liniarized symbols. In this section we suggest ways that the ConSAT could be used to help the student's writing process.

A first step might be to have the student choose the important ideas or concepts which would be included in the subject and then to structure the concepts and indicate the relationships. For example, the student's structure may look like this. (The diagram does not include the concepts and relationships, only the abstract structure.)



The circles are concepts or ideas, the solid lines indicate the important relationships between concepts, the dotted lines indicate the secondary relationships. The student must now decide, assuming s/he is satisfied with the representation, how to transfer this representation of cognitive structure into a linear progression. The issue is one of sequence, and the criteria by which the sequence is determined. The criteria, such as the nature of the audience, the skill of the writer, the content of the subject matter, all will influence the decisions of the student on the sequence of the presentation. The same could also be said of choosing the main ideas to be presented, the examples, and the logical structure of the arguments. From these many factors the student may determine that the following sequence would effectively communicate the structure of the student's message. The numbers indicate the sequence.



The process of justifying the sequence, the main ideas, or the arguments to others and to the student him/herself, will unearth assumptions students have about how communication occurs, the characteriestics of the audience and the student's own representation of knowledge. Additionally, the student could be asked what effect changing the sequence might have on the logic of the writing, or on the intended audience. For example, the teacher might ask the student to do a ConSAT on how an "average" person in the audience would structure the concepts, in this way assessing the commonality as well as the difference between the student's structure and that of the audience.

One of the values we prize in the ConSAT is that it offers a global picture of the way students represent their knowledge and consequently offers the opportunity to talk about that structure in terms of what it means to learn or to write.

Delimitations

In this section we identify what we perceive to be some of the "boundary conditions" of the ConSAT. We have endeavored throughout to "put out front" our values and assumptions about students' learning, the role of the teacher, and the nature of knowledge. We do not expect that all teachers hold the same values or make the same assumptions. For those teachers who identify with the positions stated here, and for whom the reality of their school situation allows, the ConSAT may be appropriate and beneficial for the instructional process. The ConSAT will be used most profitably by only some teachers since the technique requires the use of fairly sophisticated processes of evalution and synthesis. For this reason we are somewhat reserved in our expectations of its effectiveness with younger elementary school children. Additionally, the ConSAT may not be appropriate for all subjects. Indeed, our original research was on a unit of descriptive geology; the applicability of the ConSAT to other fields of science remains untested, although we are quite confident in its appropriatness for any scientific classification scheme or in domains for which mathematical formalizations exist, such as in physics, especially mechanics. We are unsure about its applicability to other disciplines such as English or Social Studies, since the discipline structures in these areas do not seem to be as well defined. The ConSAT, then, may not work equally well with all subject matter. In addition, having placed a value on discipline structure, we are still in the process of sorting out the various meanings implied in the term, as well as the relationships between discipline structure, cognitive structure, the content structure of educational materials, and the psychological aspects of instruction. This paper represents an effort on our part to specify our present understanding in this complex area. We would expect that as our understanding becomes more sophisticated, the ConSAT will also change and develop in its instructional uses. For now, the ConSAT is in its infancy. Thus, to summarize, the ConSAT is

-- not for all teachers,
-- not for all students,
-- not for all subject matter, and
-- not for all time.

Summation

Each of the authors of this paper perceives himself to be an individual psychologically predisposed to the position that everything in the world is related. Individuals so predisposed, almost by definition, are ultimately doomed to failure, at least if "absolute" success is the goal. But success and failure may be thought of in terms more relative. We have not tried to answer for all time the theoretical issues of the relationship of the idea of structure to education or of research to practice. We do not believe our assumptions and values are, or ought to be,everyone's. We do not claim that the ConSAT is unconditionally suited to any instructional goal or purpose. Yet we do believe that when it is applied in situations for which it is appropriate, it offers a mechanism many educators can use to address some of their more complex priorities.

Reference Notes

1. With respect to its role in the curriculum movement of recent decades, the idea of structure has held an ambiguous relationship. It is generally agreed that the movement was mostly unsuccessful (see Greene, 1973, p. 154). The various interpretations of this outcome are interesting to compare, however. A reading of certain "post mortem" accounts suggests that those more inclined toward the philosophical idea of structure "see" a dominance of the psychological during that period, whereas those favoring a psychological position "see" a neglect of their point of view. Representative of the philosophical side is the position of Connelly, quoted in the body of our paper. Joseph Novak (1977), a promoter of David Ausubel's psychology, is an instance of the other side.
2. Four significant variants of the psychological notion of cognitive structure were reviewed: (1) Neo-associationist, (2) Information processing (3) Ausubel, and (4) Piaget. Our review considered conceptual and methodological differences between these approaches.
3. These two conceptions of knowledge are not the total set of significance to education. See Apple & King (1977, p. 342) who consider also the sociological and technological frames of reference.
4. In our view the issue of the relationship between logical and psychological structures is very complex -- more complex even than indicated here. We conceive of Piaget's work in genetic epistemology as a committment to the long-term task of unraveling the relationship. He states, for

example (1970, p. 13): "The fundamental hypothesis of genetic epistemology is that there is a parallelism between the progress made in the logical and rational organization of knowledge and the corresponding formative psychological processes."

5. Individualized Science (IS) is a basal science program intended for use in school grades K through 8, and consists of a complete science curriculum integrated with an individualized learning management system (Champagne and Klopfer, 1974). The IS program is designed to enable the child to acquire a foundation of scientific literacy and to become skillful in using the processes of scientific inquiry. The program encourages open-ended student investigations that are designed to develop a student's skills in using the processes of scientific inquiry and problem solving. One way in which thisis done is through the use of an instructional resource called "Invitation to Explore" (ITE). A series of these ITE's appears in certain instructional units of the IS program. However, most of the ITE's can be used independently of the IS program's unit where they appear, and in that case the ITE functions as a self-contained instructional module.
6. The next four paragraphs are a direct quote from our paper, "Content Structure in Science Instructional Materials and Cognitive Structure in Students' Memories." The final draft of the paper was written by Dr. Audrey Champagne.
7. The phrase, "we believe" is meant to connote that the assertions which follow have not been empirically tested or validated, and indicates the the statement is a tentative hypothesis.

8. We have no empirical tests of this assumption, although in our informal talks with reading specialists, most were enthusiastic about its possibilities. We present the idea here as one which a teacher may want to test further in the classroom.

9. We have, perhaps, presented the interactive process of reading too simply. We realize that readers do not perform those steps in that sequence, nor do they complete one of the steps before going to another. Most probably, the steps are performed almost simultaneously as the reader progresses through the material. We made the steps distinct in order to focus on the specific skills involved.

Appendix I

Three students' pre-and post-instructional structures were selected from the data to illustrate how the students' structures can be characterized using the analytical scheme described in Figure 10. The examples chosen are representative of (1) levels in the analytical scheme and (2) various degrees of pre- to post-instructional improvements. Our discussion below begins with lower levels of the scheme and smaller improvements and proceeds to higher levels and greater improvements. The three students' structures are shown in Figure A. Each structure is labeled with the student's identifying number and whether it is a pre- or post-instructional structure.

Structure 03 Pre and o3 Post exemplify lower levels of the scheme and relatively minor pre to post changes. 03 Pre is characterized by groupings on the basis of general (i.e., non-scientific) labels (rock, volcanoes, dirt). No evidence, even of a fragment of the hierarchy is present. We assign this structure to class W-2. Structure 03 Post still has no sign of the hierarchical relations of rocks. More words are included under the general label, "rock;" the words organized around "volcano" are slightly more differentiated; "metamorphic" and "limestone" are paired, but no relation is given; and "sediment" and "sedimentary" are related by their morphological similarity. This structure has elements of classes W-2, W-1, and G. The change, then, from pre- to post is minimal, with the student using essentially the same organizing relations, picking up little of the science content and none of the structure.

Structure 15 Pre and 15 Post illustrate an imporvement greater than that of 03 Pre to 03 Post, as well as a structure at a higher level on our analytical scheme. Structure 15 Pre has many unrecognized terms; a few terms grouped under the general label "rock;" and the association of "lava" with "volcano." Structure 15 Post evidences a fragment of the hierarchy and an increase in the number of words associated with "rock" and with "volcano." 15 Pre is characterized as class W-2 in the scheme, and 15 Post as W-3 and W-2. There is a clear advance in structure, although there is still no well-defined hierarchy and no sign of the rock cycle.

Structures 18 Pre and 18 Post show the greatest pre-post improvement of the three and are representative of the highest levels of our scheme. Although structure 18 Pre does not contain the rock cycle, it is structured around the hierarchy. Note, however, that the hierarchy contains the words "magma," "lava," and "sediment" on the same level as the examples of rocks. One way to view this is that the student tried to fit these words into one scheme, the hierarchy. However, in 18 Post these words are clearly related to the rock cycle, and 18 Post incorporates the rock cycle structure and elaborates on the hierarchy. The rock cycle transformations are given both on the level of superordinate concepts ("igneous," "metamorphic," and "sedimentary") and on the basis of the examples of rocks. Student 18's structures demonstrate a clear and significant advance in structure. Structure 18 Pre is characterized as class W-3 and 18 Post as class W-6, and increase of two levels.

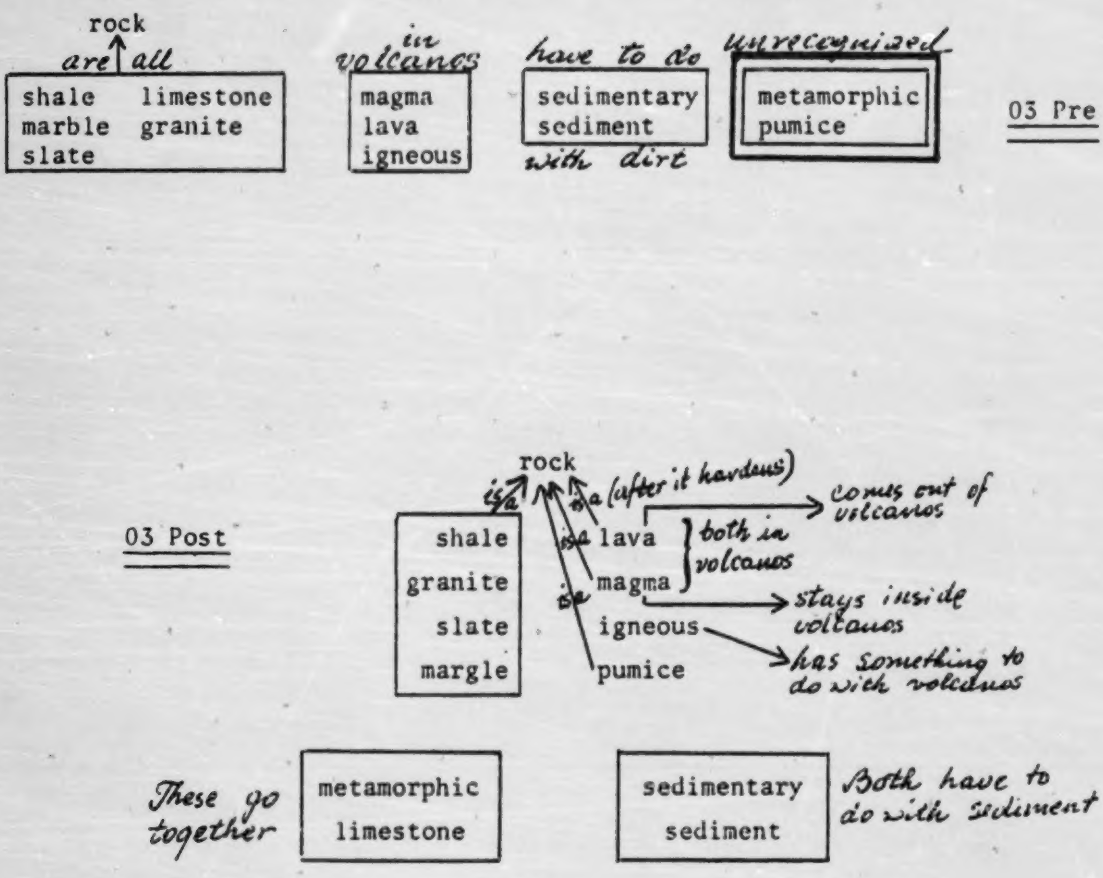
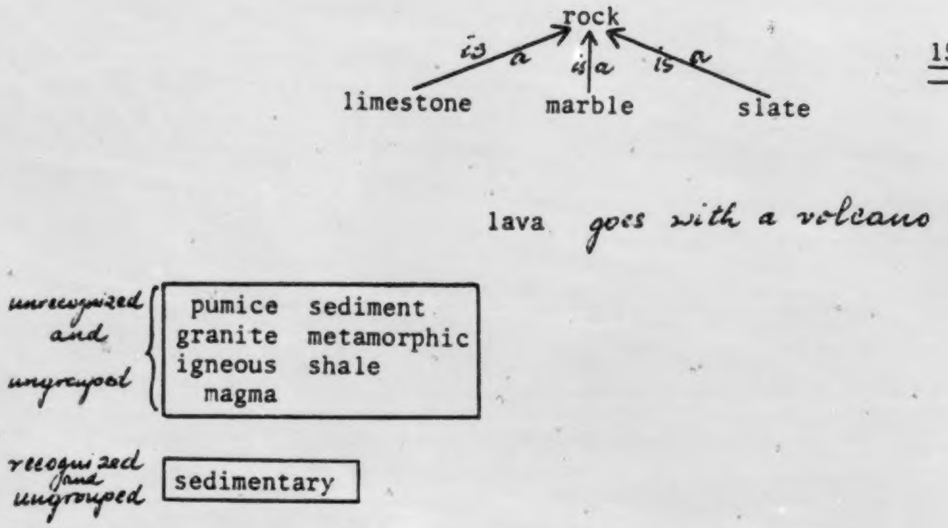

rock
are all
shale
limestone
marble
granite
slate
in volcanos
magma
lava
igneous
have to do
sedimentary
sediment
with dirt
unrecognized
metamorphic
pumice
03 Pre
03 Post
rock
is a
is a (after it hardens)
lava
is a
magma
is a
igneous
pumice
shale
granite
slate
margle
both in volcanos
comes out of volcanos
stays inside volcanos
has something to do with volcanos
These go together
metamorphic
limestone
sedimentary
sediment
Both have to do with sediment

Figure A

Pre- and Post-Instructional ROCK Structures
Made by Three Students in Study II

15 Pre


rock
is a
is a
is a
limestone
marble
slate
lava goes with a volcano
unrecognized and ungrouped
pumice
sediment
granite
metamorphic
igneous
shale
magma
recognized and ungrouped
sedimentary

15 Post

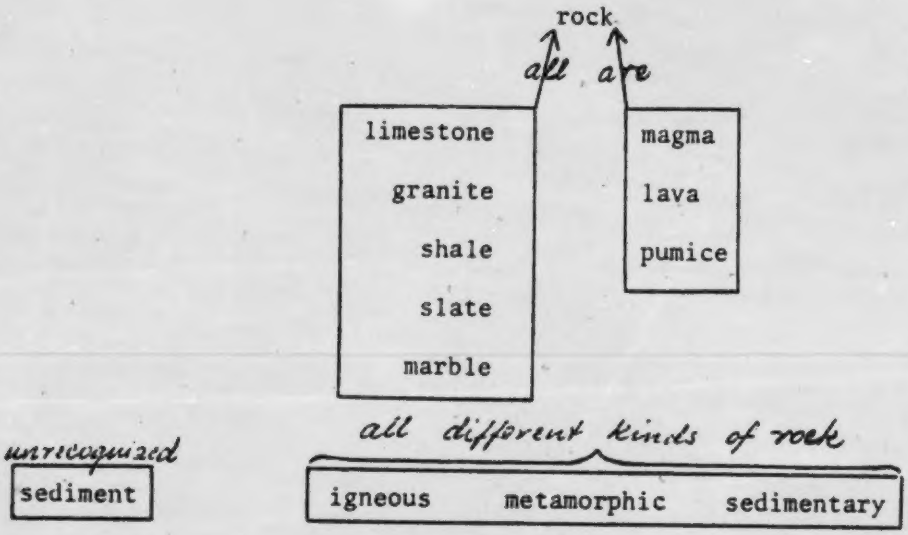

rock
all are
limestone
granite
shale
slate
marble
magma
lava
pumice
all different kinds of rock
unrecognized
sediment
igneous
metamorphic
sedimentary

Figure A (con't)

18 Pre

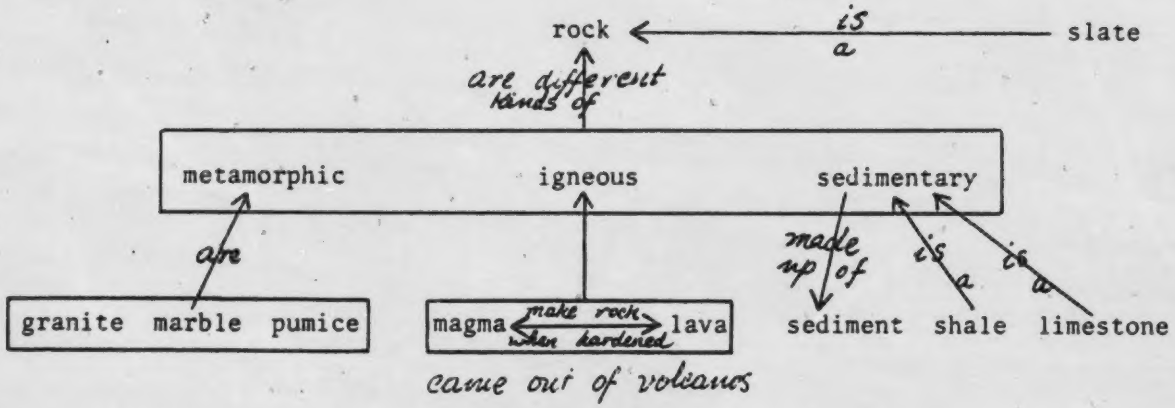
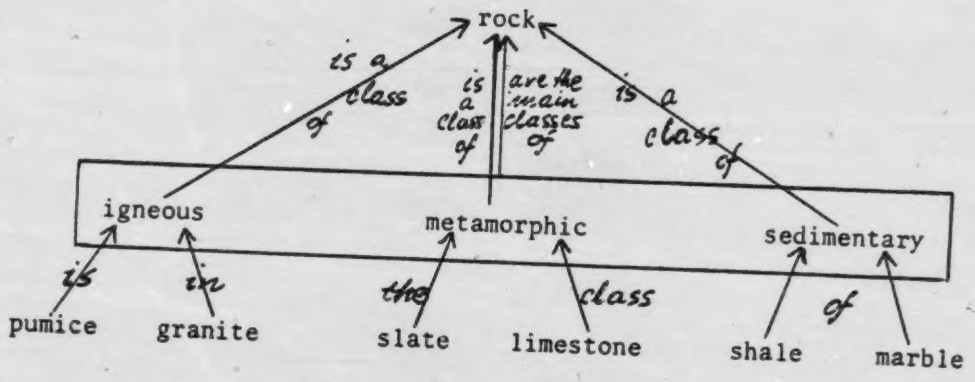
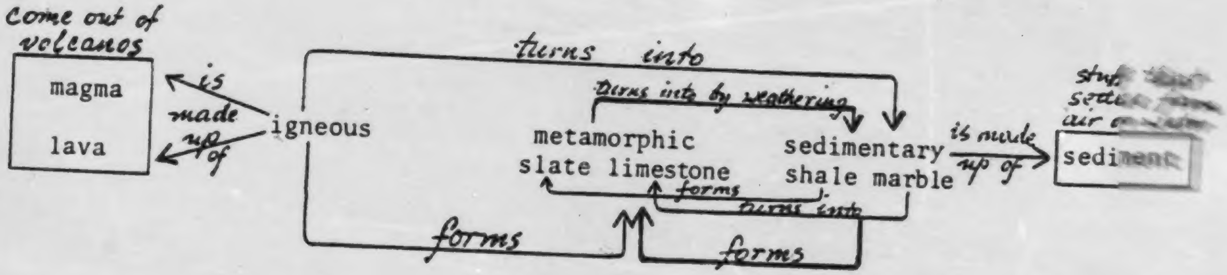

rock
is a
slate
are different kinds of
metamorphic
igneous
sedimentary
are
made up of
is a
is a
granite marble pumice
magma
make rock when hardened
lava
came out of volcanos
sediment
shale
limestone

Figure A (con't)

18 Post


rock
is a class of
is a class of
are the main classes of
is a class of
igneous
metamorphic
sedimentary
is
in
the
class
of
pumice
granite
slate
limestone
shale
marble


Come out of volcanos
magma
lava
is made up of
igneous
turns into
turns into by weathering
metamorphic
slate limestone
sedimentary
shale marble
forms
turns into
forms
forms
is made up of
sedi
stuff
settle
air

Note: The actual structure has the hierarchy and the rock cycle integrated. They were separated to facilitate our analysis.

Figure A (concluded)

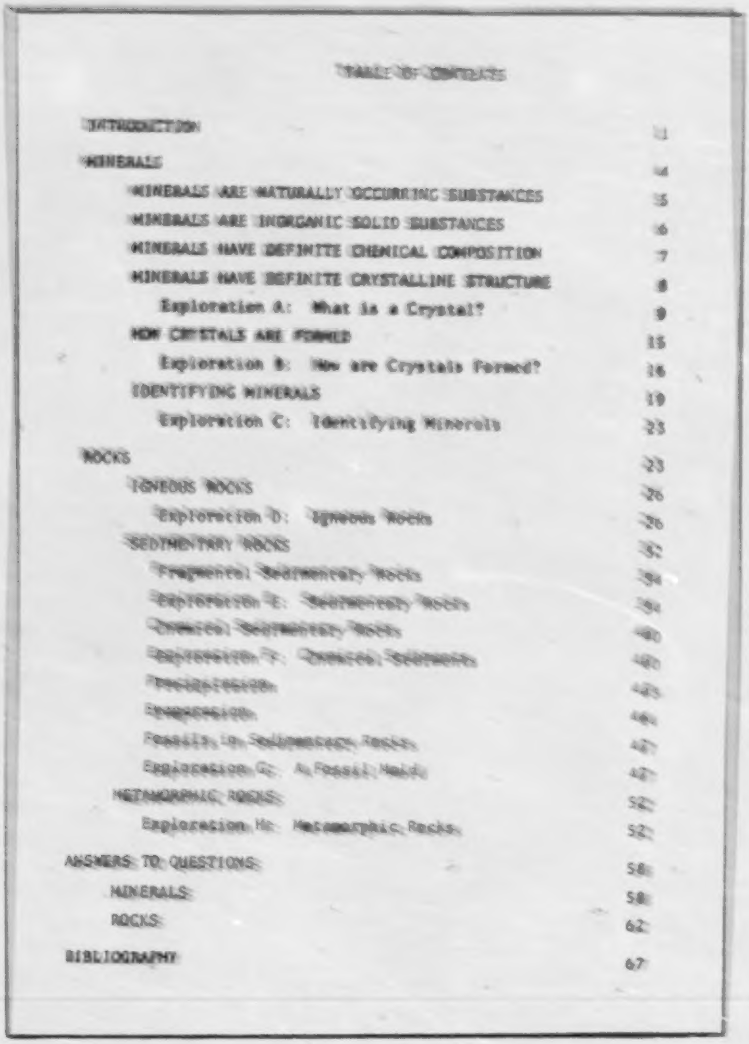


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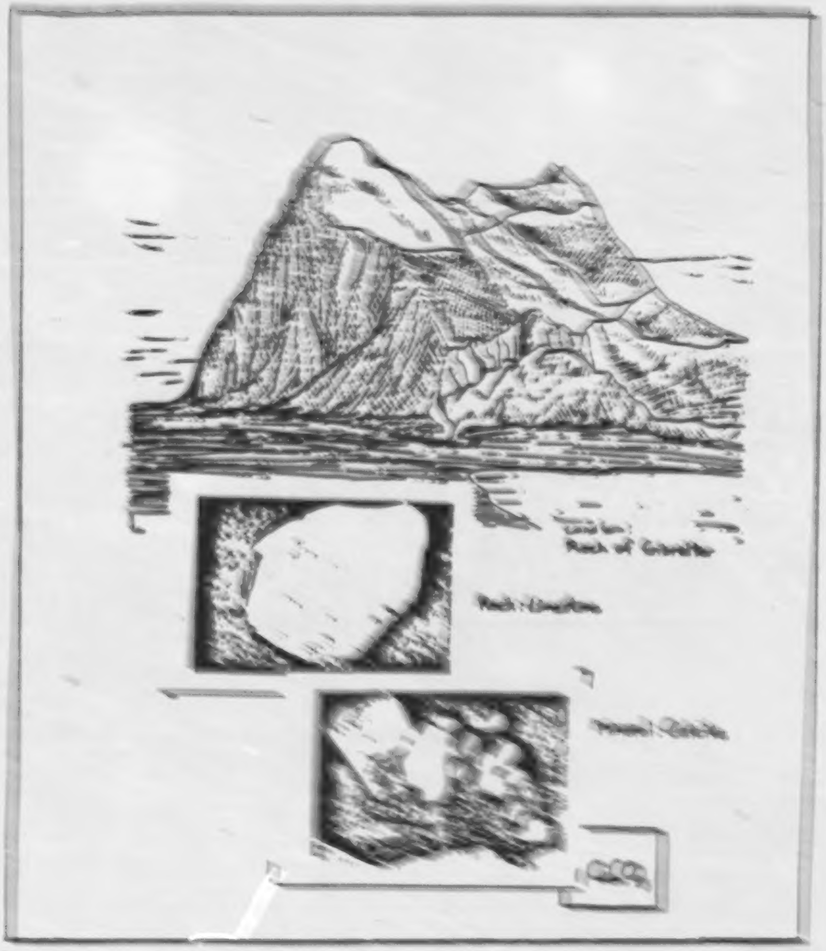
Figure 1

Contents Page of the ITE Minerals and Rocks


Landform:
Rock of Gibralter
Rock: Limestone
Mineral: Calcite
$CaCO_3$

The Rock of Gibralter is a landform made up of limestone rock. Limestone is a mixture of different minerals, but most of it is the mineral calcite (KAL site). Calcite is a naturally occurring chemical substance that contains molecules of calcium carbonate, $CaCO_3$.

Figure 2

Excerpts from Pages 4 and 6
of the
IIE Minerals and Rocks

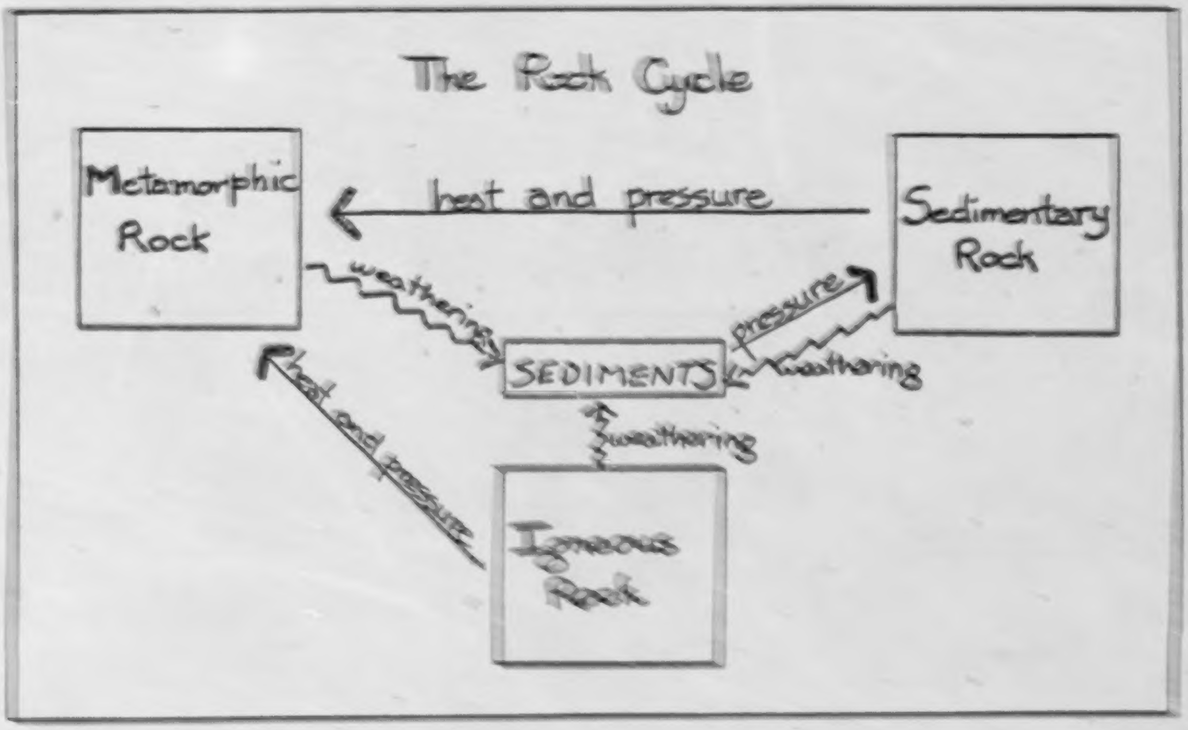

The Rock Cycle
Metamorphic Rock
heat and pressure
Sedimentary Rock
weathering
pressure
SEDIMENTS
weathering
heat and pressure
weathering
Igneous Rock

Figure 3

Excerpt from Page 57
of the
ITE Minerals and Rocks

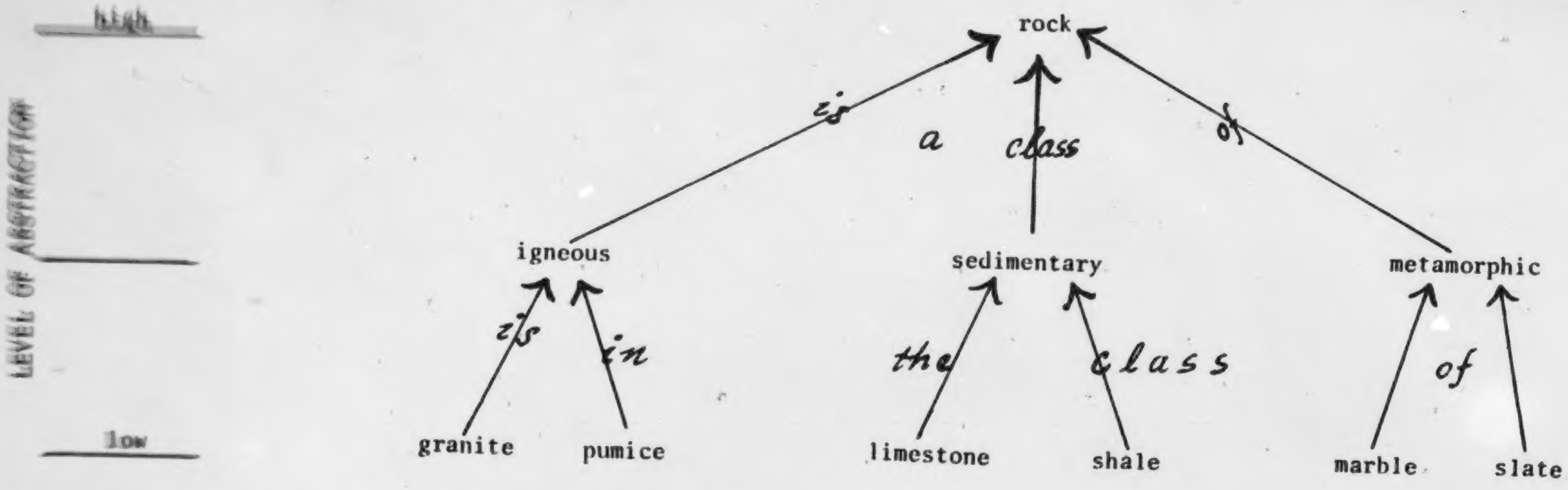

high
LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION
low
rock
is
a
class
of
igneous
sedimentary
metamorphic
is
in
the
class
of
granite
pumice
limestone
shale
marble
slate

Figure 4

Hierarchical Class Inclusion Structure

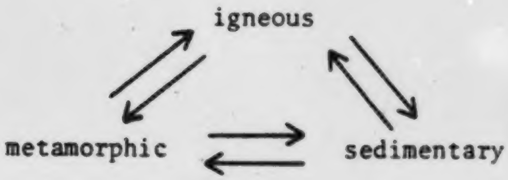

igneous
metamorphic
sedimentary

Figure 5

The Rock Cycle

This structure simply represents the principle that any class of rock can be transformed into any other class of rock.

tion of sediment
athering.

tion of magma
rocks are sub-
d to tremendous
and pressure.

ransformation of
us and sedimentary
to metamorphic rock
at and pressure.
le results when
tone is metamorphosed;
results when
is metamorphosed.)

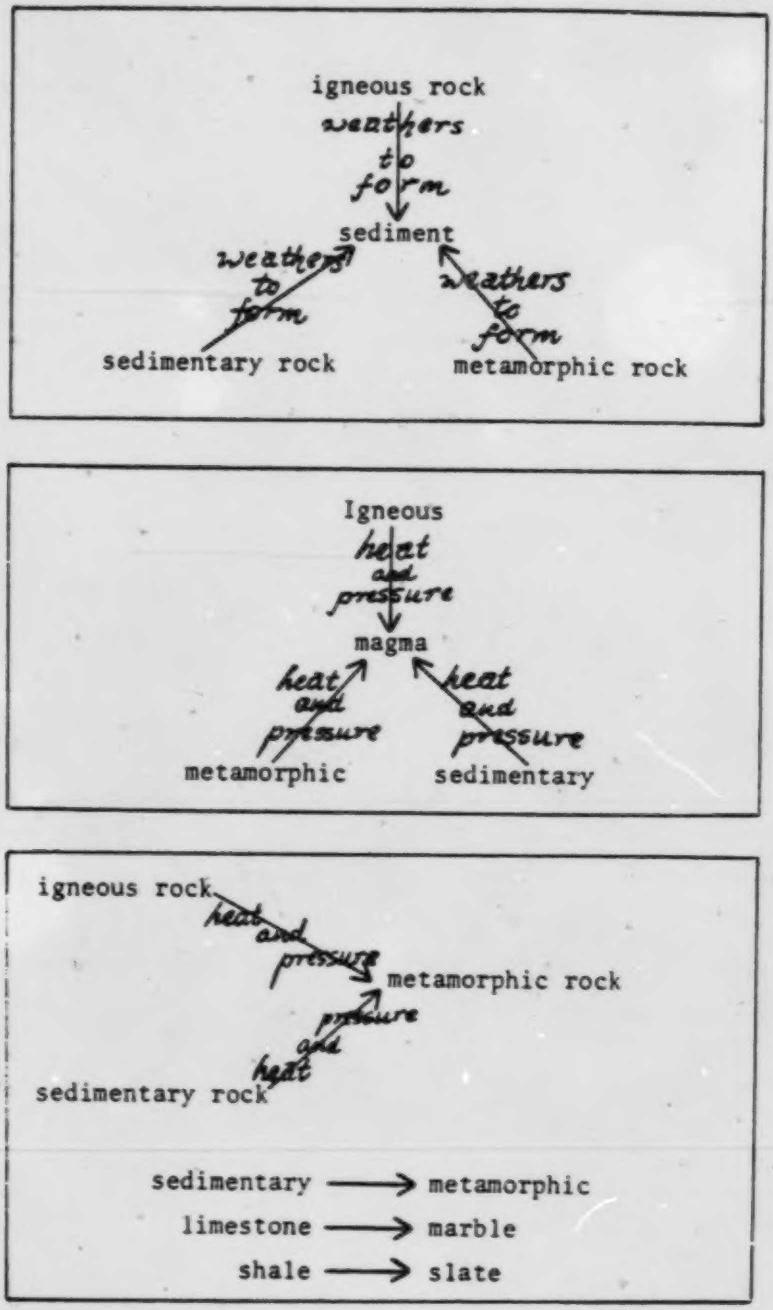

igneous rock
weathers to form
sediment
weathers to form
weathers to form
sedimentary rock
metamorphic rock
Igneous
heat and pressure
magma
heat and pressure
heat and pressure
metamorphic
sedimentary
igneous rock
heat and pressure
metamorphic rock
pressure and heat
sedimentary rock
sedimentary → metamorphic
limestone → marble
shale → slate

Figure 6

Substeps of the Rock Cycle Transformations

Sedimentary rocks form when sediments are subjected to heat and pressure.

$$\text{sediment} \xrightarrow[\text{pressure}]{\text{heat}} \text{sedimentary rock}$$

Igneous rock forms when lava and magma cool.

$$\begin{matrix}\text{lava}\\ \text{magma}\end{matrix} \xrightarrow{\text{cool}} \begin{matrix}\text{igneous}\\ \text{rock}\end{matrix}$$

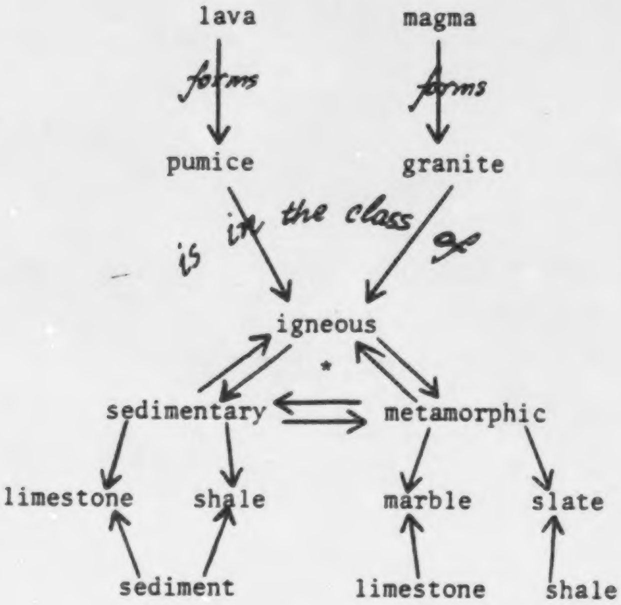
Pumice is formed when lava cools rapidly (on the earth's surface).

$$\text{lava} \xrightarrow[\text{rapidly}]{\text{cools}} \text{pumice}$$

Granite is formed when magma cools slowly (below the earth's surface).

$$\text{magma} \xrightarrow[\text{slowly}]{\text{cools}} \text{granite}$$

Figure 6 (con't)


lava
magma
forms
forms
pumice
granite
is in the class of
igneous
*
sedimentary
metamorphic
limestone
shale
marble
slate
sediment
limestone
shale

* ⇄ means can change into

Figure 7

Composite Representation of Transformations and Relationships in the Rock Cycle

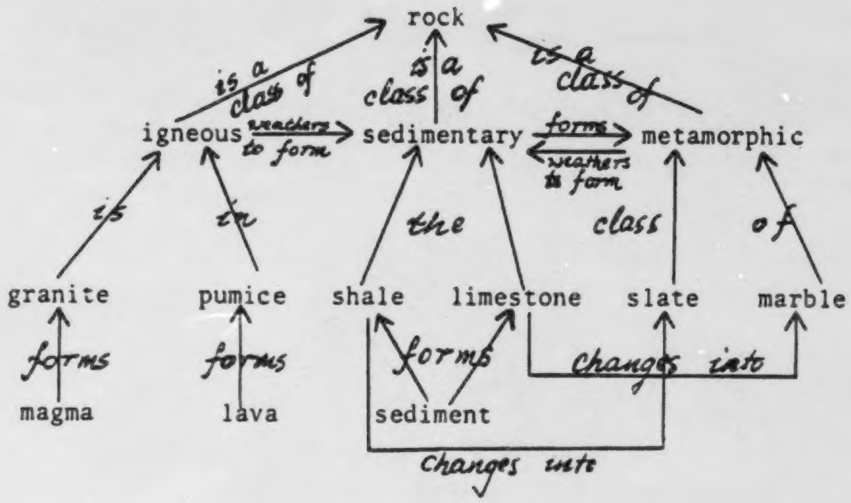
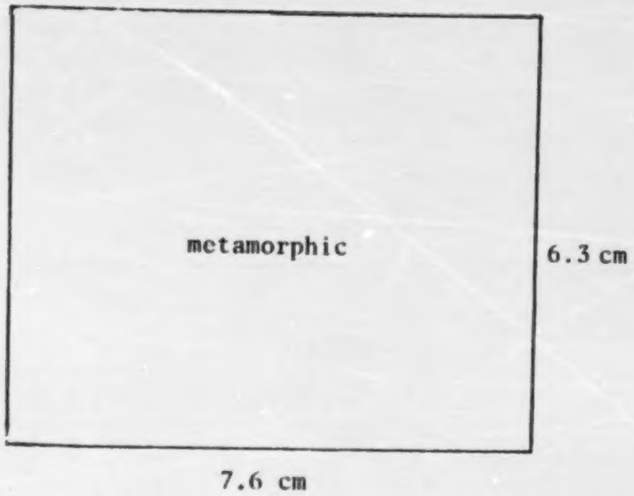

rock
is a class of
is a class of
is a class of
igneous
weathers to form
sedimentary
forms
weathers to form
metamorphic
is
in
the
class
of
granite
pumice
shale
limestone
slate
marble
forms
forms
forms
changes into
magma
lava
sediment
changes into

Figure 8

Integrated Structure Showing Hierarchical and Transformation



Practice Sort

body
ears
eyes
face
foot
heel
metatarsus
nose
soul
toes

ATOM Sort

atoms
chemical compounds
chemical elements
chemical substances
molecules

MINERAL Sort

C
$CaCO_3$
calcite
calcium carbonate
carbon
diamond
graphite
halite

inorganic solid substances
limestone
mineral
NaCl
shells of sea animals
substances with a characteristic crystalline structure
substances with a definite chemical composition
naturally occurring substances
table salt

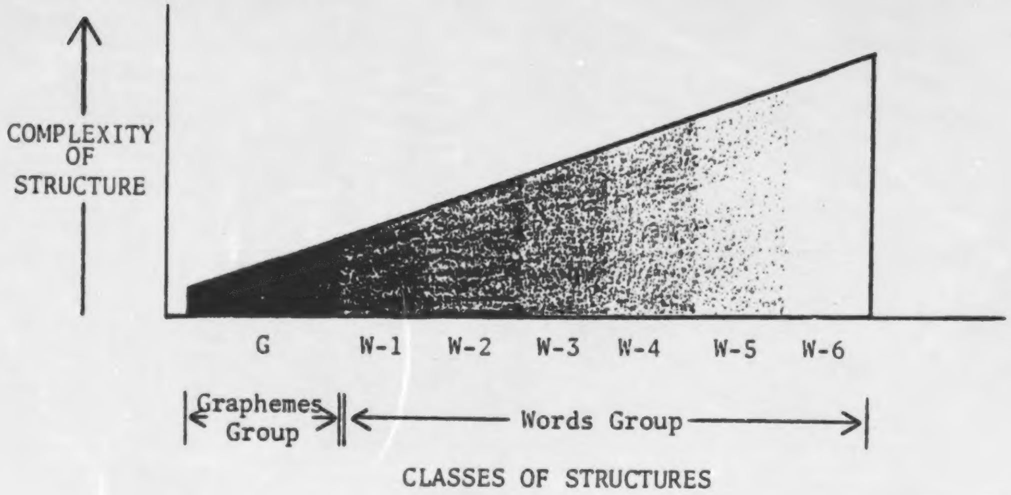
ROCK Sort

granite
igneous
lava
limestone
magma
marble

metamorphic
pumice
rock
sediment
sedimentary
shale
slate

Figure 9

Sample Card and Terms Used in ConSAT


COMPLEXITY OF STRUCTURE
G
W-1
W-2
W-3
W-4
W-5
W-6
Graphemes Group
Words Group
CLASSES OF STRUCTURES

CLASS	ATTRIBUTES OF THE CLASS
W-6	integration of hierarchical structure and transformational structure into a single structure
W-5	hierarchical structure plus fragment of transformational structure
W-4	hierarchical structure or transformational structure
W-3	fragments of the hierarchical and/or transformational structures
W-2	two or more words related by a single technical or general usage label
W-1	two or more words, unspecified relationships

G	two or more words related by a single morphological characteristic

Figure 10

Attributes and Classes for ROCK Structures

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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS AND HARDSHIPS WHICH PHYSICALLY DISABLED AND NONDISABLED CHILDREN RECEIVE FROM MAINSTREAMING

By

Linda Anne Swazuk
Special Education
University of Pittsburgh

"Normal on our earth is trouble and strife, trial and tribulation, and the handicapped person has a right to be exposed to it. Normalization thus includes the dignity of risk."[1] We can protect handicapped individuals from the hardships of everyday, such as physical barriers and prejudices, for only so long and eventually these individuals must cope with those problems. Since the author has Horn Cell Disease, which is physically crippling, this has exposed her to both regular and special schools. From this exposure she has come to experience that normalization can best come about through mainstreaming. Thus, by confronting the psychological hardships and benefits, through the element of education from the earliest moment possible, growth and development can be achieved, which is as essential for the disabled individual as his normal peer.

This paper will be focusing on three themes: 1.) the justification of mainstreaming; 2.) the psychological benefits for both the disabled and nondisabled individual; and 3.) the realistic hardships and possible solutions that are derived from this method of promoting normalization.

With the passing of Public Law 94-142, "The Education of all Handicapped Children Act of 1975," by the United States Congress on November 25, 1975 all handicapped children are to be provided a free appropriate public education which emphasizes special education and related services designed to meet their unique needs — hence, mainstreaming. "It was felt that the handicapped individual would be more restricted in the long run if placed in a regular class where he is rejected by others and fails to learn necessary skills, than if he were placed in a special class or day school where he learns happily and well."[2] The author firmly agrees with this attitude that special education can be undertaken in the regular classroom.

---

[1] Leslie D. Park, "Barriers to Normality for the Handicapped Adult in the United States," Rehabilitation Literature, XXXVI (1975), 108.

It has been proven that handicapped children have been mainstreamed before the word was fashionable and will be continued to be mainstreamed regardless if it is an Act of Congress or not. "Estimates indicate that close to 50% of the 8 million handicapped children are receiving education in the regular classroom."[3] Special education classes are staffed by appropriate personnel (ie. appropriately certified teachers and other ancillary personnel, such as physical, occupational, and speech therapists) and the student to teacher ratio is small enough to accomodate most exceptional children. The exceptional child is also well isolated against many of the frustrations of daily living until he graduates at the age of 18 (in some cases 21). Therefore, placement in a special class, theoretically, is suppose to prepare the exceptional individual to cope with and contribute to his well-being in school as well as outside of school.

---

[2] Daniel P. Hallahan and James M. Kauffman, Exceptional Children - Introduction to Special Education, 7.

[3] "The Challenge of Mainstreaming," Education Digest, XLII (1976), 6.

The author tends to question these terms, prepared and contribute, since she has seen and been a product of the special school and classes in the United States. This experience has contributed greatly to the "suspect" attitudes of the author about the value of speical school and classes for many exceptional individuals. The question the author is asking, at this time, is, "In what specific way or ways are exceptional individuals being prepared in special schools or classes to function as contributing members of society?"

Unfortunately, our society places financial rewards as the best means of determining a contributing member of society. It is difficult to gain financial success when the odds are stacked against it. Many contributing factors exist to achieving financial success: 1.) access and use of transportation; 2.) adequate education; and 3.) job training/experiences.

Transporation has always been a primary problem for the handicapped. The children in special schools are usually bussed to and from school. When activities not involving school are involved, transportation is usually provided by parents, via private automobiles. Until recently few handicapped individuals were primarily instructed on the use of public transportation by any school personnel.

Public transportation did not necessarily stop the use of their busses by handicapped individuals. But they did take the stand of no blocking of an aisle may incur, thus, inhibiting travel with a wheelchair. Our society now is trying to make up for this through the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Section 504.

This is providing public transportation systems the opportunity to equip new busses with physical access for the handicapped. "Thus, the financial savings resulting when some of the expense of special transportation is avoided can be immeasurable --- monetarily and psychologically."[4]

Leslie Park has stated, in relation to the educational problems of the exceptional individual, "There is little, if any system of preparation and entry into the world or work except by the most haphazard and discriminatory practices."[5] Often, college is eliminated or becomes disenchanting for the physically handicapped individual in the special school, as he is not academically prepared. Most often the speical education teacher's training is focused on the psychological, physical, and general academic needs of the handicapped individual. The author feels that an excellent example of this statement is when the teacher is asked to prepare a chemistry course for his exceptional pupil, he is only able to provide instruction that relates basically to his own chemistry experiences, and is not able to provide adequate laboratory facilities, if any at all.

No one can be a specialist in all the required courses for college admittance, but this is expected of the special education teacher. The teacher becomes frustrated because he must teach courses he is not adequately prepared to do so; and the student is liable to receive an inferior education from this.

---

[4] Michael C. Hughes, Ruth B. Smith, Floyd Benitz, "Travel Training for Exceptional Children: Public Transportation is a Classroom, Too," Teaching Exceptional Children, IX (Summer, 1977), 90.

[5] Park, op.cit., 110.

Other times, the class size is small and the handicapped individual is not use to competing on a scale that regular school can provide. Hence, the handicapped individual has to learn the defeats and triumphs of functioning in a competitive environment such as college, at the time of admittance. This can be too over-whelming and cause the disabled individual to drop out; unless he is strong willed and works to overcome these obstacles. Otherwise, the safer self-assured confinement of home may be to overpowering to defeat.

If academic problems are threatening college succes, financial problems pose the same threat. The Pennsylvania State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation (BVR) contributes about $800.00 towards college tuition and will provide necessary equipment, ie. wheelchairs and transporation fees, to the handicapped individuals who fit BVR's requirements of acceptance. Remaining are still large portions of school tuition, book costs, and othe costs in general. The problems to be faced become compounded with academic, architectual, financial, and social barriers.

The most often suggested method of job training for the exceptional individual is sheltered workshops. While sheltered workshops are supposedly only a transitional area for the handicapped individual, more often than not the situation becomes permanent. This, the author says with conviction due to the experiences of talking with and knowing people who have gone this route.

An alternative of putting the handicapped individual into an actual apprentice type of situation is often overlooked and the workshop is substituted as the main vocational opportunity. Training is still being provided for practically nonexistent jobs. People are still being trained in watch repair, selling lightbulbs and brooms, as examples. Do these types of jobs lead to financial rewards?

The case is usually NO!; and the handicapped individual's self-image is not up-lifted when he has to rely on minimum wages and public assistance. Minimum wages and public assistance tend to limit the disabled individual's financial success and future.

Through mainstreaming, the disabled individual will learn to contribute to society as his nondisabled peer does in exactly the same manner. Together they can learn to overcome transportation problems, solving them side by side. Educational problems become more alike, as the disabled and the nondisabled individual become faced with the same academic situations; with mainstreaming the disabled child may receive help from special education resource personnel whenever the help is needed, but does not have to face segregation into the special education school and classes. Finally, the handicapped individual will not have the bleak outlook of withdrawing from society becuase of financial insecurity. The disabled along with the nondisabled will hopefully be guided into the same profitable jobs and training experiences.

The psychological benefits and hardships can not be listed seperately, as one compensates the other. When the disabled and nondisabled individual learns to accept each others limitations for what they are and expands these limitations to their fullest potentials, then mainstreaming will be successful. In the next section the problems of mainstreaming will be dealt with and the possible solutions, and from this the rewards or advantages that mainstreaming can provide.

Are childrens' attitudes and actions towards the physically disabled formed by themselves or are these attitudes extensions of their parents? History shows that discrimination has always existed. The Spartans based their lives on physical fittness, the Greeks' had Hercules and Venus, and many nationalities believed that the sick were punishment for sins. Society places a value on the whole and beautiful body; examples are Mr. and Miss America contests. This the disabled person has to adjust to and make compensations.

"The disable are on a parallel with that of racial and religious groups, for example, the Jew or Negro (who are minority groups.) Minority groups are considered by some to be unworthy as human beings, or not acceptable as 100% Americans. Not only is the disabled person often considered inferior, but it is also felt that he "ought" to feel inferior, and that he "ought" to know and feel his place much in the manner of other underprivileged minority members."[6]

These attitudes can be changed. Whether or not it begins innately with the child or is superimposed on the child by an adult, this can be waylaid by starting early to mold normalization, with such an instrument as mainstreaming, in one of the child's first and earliest socialization environments -- school. Hence, all children would possibly be able to attain their optimum at maturity.

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[6] Roger G. Barker and Beatrice A. Wright, "The Social Psychology of Adjustment to Physical Disability," The Psychological Aspects of Physical Disability, 19.

Some physically disabled individuals have striking characteristics, such as drooling, disfigurement, and any number of combinations of physical imperfections. The author feels Bud Madru, an art teacher at the New North Community School in Springfield, Massachusetts, best illustrates the acceptance of a physically handicapped child into the classroom of a regular school with a personal account of a cerebral palsied child (C.P.).

> "I don't have any real problems. I think some of these teachers make too much of all this. I have one kid who has C.P. and he comes down here with the rest of his class. He has some trouble cutting paper, and whenever we have a project that requires cutting I go to help him. But before I can get there some kid is already helping. The other thing is that he drools. At first, you, it was kind of revolting to me. The first half-hour or son maybe more, it bothered me to see it. It's not nice to say, but it's the truth, and I think it bothered the kids, too. But now if he drools, the kid sitting next to him cleans it up. It's amazing." 7

"Yuker, Block, and Younng and Siller and others have done extensive work in documenting this attitude of the general public toward the physically disabled as being mildly accepting."[8] The personnel of a school are the adults the child uses as models, therefore, it is important for teachers to be fairly well adjusted in respect to the disabled child's disability. When positive attitudes by the teacher are flowing toward the disabled child, the children will pick them up as in the case of Bud Madru.

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[7] David Milofsky, "School the Kids No One Wants, Mainstreaming in Massachusetts," New York Times, January 2, 1977, 26.

[8] Bobby G. Greer, Ph.D. "Attitudes of Special Education Personnel Toward Different Types of Deviant Persons," Rehabilitation Literature, XXXVI, 182.

It would appear that special educational personnel would bear no differences in attitude toward their charges and their disabilities; but in a study conducted by Bobby G. Greer, Ph.D. it was found that special education personnel do assume different attitudes toward the various handicapping disabilities. Dr. Greer used the example of physically and mentally disabled groups in relation to alcoholics. Special education personnel tended to assume a much more "hard-nosed" attitude toward the physically and mentally disabled groups, while they were slightly toward the compassionate side regarding the alcoholic. In Dr. Greer's opinion, the full meaning of this finding must be considered in light of the perceived differences regarding the treatment programs for these two groups. The alcoholic's treatment was more bleak than the physically and mentally disabled, therefore, the compassion was toward the alcoholic.

Most of the studies that the author read seemed to point towards the summation that nondisabled children have a general animosity towards their disabled peer. Whether this occurred because the children tried to anticipate the "proper" responses or the fact that they were not exposed to handicapped individuals to have established any negative attitudes is a certain variable in any study. But, it is important to stress that behavior problems do occur between the normal child and his disabled peer.

Peer acceptance can be a tough road regardless if the individual is handicapped or not. Although, when pecking orders are being established among children, it is certainly easier to start with someone less likely to do the dominating for openers. For example, during the author's elementary school years, while attending regular schools, on a few occassions she was teased and bullied; but there is a stress on the word few! This bullying was far and few between; and on the whole children were and are less critical than the adults who are the children's role models.

The author's cousins, nieces, and nephew have grown up around her handicap, and the handicaps of others in the family and friends, and have found the disability to nothing more than another way of life. While there are obvious compensations to make, such as buying a car large enough to easily accomodate a wheelchair, but on the whole, these same wheelchairs are fun to ride and push, the crutches are fun to try and walk with or use as stilts, and leg braces certainly are interesting gadgets.

An astute classroom teacher is instrumental in a child's development. The teacher's attitude toward the child and his problems is insurmountable in establishing good relationships. If the teacher rejects the child, it serves to corroborate the child's self-doubts and feelings of worthlessness; and the handicapped individual's peers will inturn reflect those attitudes of the teacher.

"The teacher/pupil relationship is asymetrical. It is one in which the professional has a higher status position; thus, the disabled individual may easily feel in a dependent position. In this situation the student hopes that through the wisdom of his teacher he will be guided through any difficulties encountered and a lack of confidence and dependency grows in the child.

This would be an atmoshpere that could easily nourish feelings of inadequacy and personal inferiority that the teacher must seek to avoid. The teacher should want to build in the disabled individual, as in his normal peer, an importance of independency; that the child has a role in the planning and carrying out of his life."[9] In general, the teacher has to be supportive, but firm in forcing the child to be independent. The teacher should have and instill in his handicapped and non-handicapped charges "a conviction that the disability is not a calamity, but rather a deviation."[10].

Handicapped individuals as well as normal individuals engage in the same experiences at one time or another. Our society places achievement at the top and along with achievement comes competition. Our emphasis on competition can be observed in business and sports; competition can definetely effect a person's performance in his work and leisure activities.

As early as the birth of a baby, competition enters as the baby's family exclaims that their baby is the prettiest one of the nursery. Mothers will compare when their children took their first steps or talked. They anxiously consult publications and their physicians to see if their child is following the norm.

When school begins, spelling tests, reading groups, and learning games instill a sense to excel at tasks. It is feasible to utilize competition as an incentive for achievement. Or is it? In determining the use of competition in regards to the physically handicapped individual versus the normal individual the teacher must be sure to have his own inner attitudes toward the disabled student intact. The teacher is the one who has tremendous influence for good or negative results from mainstreaming the child.

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[9] Barker and Wright, op.cit., 20.

[10] Ibid., 24.

For some physically disabled individuals feelings of frustration may exist when competition is used as a component of achievement. When the teacher has considered the disabled individual's assests and liabilities, viewed the specific problems, and implemented the appropriate classroom modifications to make achievement obtainable through this means, the individual as any other "normal" individual will successfully respond. Feelings of frustration are unpleasant and provide negative self-concepts which lead to inadequate performance. Although, frustration is a part of normalization for everyone, it can become a poor feature of mainstreaming when anxiety over-rules.

Sometimes using competition can produce anxiety in the disabled individual and superiority in the nondisabled child; for example, the use of a learning game involving speed and dexterity. In a math class the author observed, a multiplication problem was put on the chalkboard, the objective was for two children on the start of go, to go as quickly as possible to the board, complete the problem, and return to his seat.

A disabled individual with poor balance and dexterity may take some time rising from his seat and ambulating to the board manipulating the chalk, and ambulating back again. The disabled individual's speed and dexterity is greatly reduced due to the anxiety of letting his team down. The nondisabled child's self-esteem,on the other hand, is soaring as he is seeing the disabled individual as inferior. The nondisabled individual may eventually generalize these feelings to other handicapped individuals if care is not taken to correct the situation, hence, condescending feelings are held toward the handicapped. This in turn could lead to social alienation for the disabled individual.

Possible solutions are for the teacher to evaluate the nondisabled students who are not readily adept at their multiplication tables and let the handicapped student compete with them. Alternating other methods such as the handicapped student receiving a head start toward the board, letting the handicapped student stay seated, or place him at the board. Thus, the handicapped student is not at the distinct disadvantage of foreseeing inevitable failure.

All people like and want to feel important; this also holds true for the physically disabled individual. In the classroom this can hold a two-fold purpose. Often, physically handicapped children are left out when duties are being assigned; not by sheer aversion but,usually due to inadequate research on the teacher's part. The teacher may not be sure of the handicapped individual's capabilities; and rather than hurt the child by assigning something too strenuous and/or impossible the teacher omits the individual when assigning duties.

There is usually some duty that the disabled individual can do. A sense of self-esteem can be enhanced; and the teacher can also assign a nondisabled individual on a partnership basis, an example, is hall monitoring. This was done in a school for the physically handicapped which the author attended. No disturbances ever occured that required brute strength and if it did a teacher could be called.

This little duty did a lot for self-worthyness. Giving a duty to a disabled individual shows that the teacher trusts and respects him.

By assigning a disabled and nondisabled individual duties together, social interaction can be strengthened; and an air of normalcy is in the class. When the teacher asks a disabled individual to aid a nondisabled individual, it will add to the handicapped person's self-respect and maturity. It is only natural to help one another. The teacher can also assign the nondisabled children turns with helping the disabled child with his books, coat, etc. This would be something needed and also would serve as the basis for etiquette and social maturity. Thus, with the disabled individual reciprocating by helping the others when needed it can diminish a self-preoccupation of worthlessness.

It is important though, for the teacher to be careful to not fall into the trap of using the disabled individual as an example when others are disappointing her. The temptation is great to point out how the disabled individual struggles to do his part and the others, who are most capable, are neglecting their duties. The child wants to be a part of the crowd, not singled out. The physical differences do enough singling out, without the teacher making the impression that the disabled child is his "pet."

Adjustment can be anxiety arousing as well. One of the most important aspects of the disabled individual's normalization is attaining social status. The handicapped individual will have to some extent overcome devaluative feelings when accepting the fact that there will be restrictions in the regular classroom.

In a special school, the class population is small, the room usually spaceous, ample railings are supplied, and the other children all have disabilities in some form or another. Now, the opposite is apparent. The disabled individual may be unsure how the nondisabled students will accept him and the devices he may need. "Sometimes the child may need electric typewriters if he has weak, slow, and illegible handwriting, and tape recorders may be used for homework preparation for those confined to bed, or perhaps is blind and their typing skills are not perfected."[11] This can hold true also for the nondisabled person who may not be proficient in grammar, have an accent, or even has difficulty in mathematics; but the physically handicapped child is not usually noticeable by one device. He usually has an assorted array of objects, devices, and physical problems.

Along with such psychological obstacles as frustration, anxiety, social acceptance, etc. the physically disabled individual is sometimes plaqued by the embarrassment of incontinence. The child is beseiged by obvious accidents. This could have direct bearing on the above obstacles as well as peer group acceptance and the forced absenteeism from class and possibly school. In the special school this may be common knowledge and acceptance; but in a regular school the handicapped individual may have a difficult time coping with this problem.

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[11] Aviva Cohen, "Education of Children with Muscular Dystrophy," Israel Journal of Medical Sciences, XIII (February, 1977), 223.

"It would be at times such as this that the child will have to learn and overcome the fact that restrictions will be present that the other children do not have; and that he has to accept himself 'as it.' This would mean improving the improvable within a framework that is meaningful for the particular individual."[12]

Actually, this is what education, whether in a special or regular school setting, tries to accomplish for every individual. Everyone needs improvement and has specific goals to accomplish. Both, the nondisabled and disabled individual, must learn and understand that there are unpleasantries to life; and that we can grow from them also.

Parental anxiety is often fed by and nurtured by the disabled child's anxiety. "The experience of parenting a handicapped child may impose certain kinds of structure and stress on parents' response styles that qualitatively differ from those experienced by parents of nonhandicapped children."[13]

Parents can be the best sources for the physically handicapped individual continuing at home what he learned in class and practicing it. "Frequently, the parents will view the handicapped individual's inability to perform as a demonstration of their own inadequacy in working with the child. Parents will be so intent on achieving the desired goal that they repeatedly call the handicapped child's errors to the individual's attention, and often fail to support the disabled individual's less-than-successful efforts to comply."[14]

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[12] Barker and Wright, op.cit., 21.

[13] Nancy B. Tyler and Kate L. Kogan, "Reduction of Stress Between Mothers and Their Handicapped Children," The American Journal of OccupationalTherapy, XXXI (1977), 151.

[14] Ibid., 151.

Nondisabled individuals will elicit positive interaction not only from their parents, but from other adults in their environment. The parents of nondisabled individuals inturn receive satisfaction from their child's development. In contrast, parents of the physically handicapped face a slow progress which at times seems unrewarding and unobtainable.

Often the parents of the handicapped do not consciously alienate themselves from friends and family, but unfortunately get caught up in the rigors of taking care the handicapped individual. A physically handicapped individual can be very time consuming. In particular the mother is affected. By attending the needs of her handicapped child, her time with the other children, husband, and her own social situation becomes very limited. The physically handicapped child may need turned in bed throughout the night to prevent pressure sores from developing, taken to the bathroom, kept occupied, and wholly taken care of; thus, by the end of an evening the parents are exhausted, leaving social engagements out until "another" time. Only. . . on the next occasion the same problem still exists.

The teacher has to be aware of this situation. The mother is not actually trained for teaching the child and her patience grows weary from failure and sheer exhaustion. The parents would like to attend school meetings, but someone needs to be at home with the disabled individual. The other children in the family cannot be totally dominated by the disabled sibling; and the father has his work to tend to,so that his time is even restricted. Hence, it is only natural for parents to be over-protective of their children; and when the child is handicapped the desire is enhanced. The parents are fearful least their child be hurt by some stupid remark or failure of acceptance. Afterall, they were responsible for the bringing of the child into the world, they have loved and nurtured him, and regardless if the disabling feature was congenital or by accident, the parents are the handicapped individual's parents and they feel the fears and carry the child's anxiety as if it were their own.

Here, the teacher and other school personnel can help. Support is needed, even if it is just proving to the parents their child can go to a school affair and return home safely. Sometimes, the parent is anxious for their child to be popular, but here again, the anxiety sets in; will he be accepted as a part of the crowd or will the child be refused. "The parents need guidance toward a healthy interaction with their handicapped child."[15]

One of the largest hurdles for the parent to overcome and also that of the disabled individual's school mates is - death. Sometimes, a child is enrolled with a chronic disease, such as muscular dystrophy or cancer. This can be one of the most difficult of all problems to handle and overcome. While the teacher has his own feelings, he has to hold up for the class and guide them through this experience. The parents may have become reliant on the teacher and/or school personnel, and it will be at this time that the parents will need support to remain stable.

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[15] *Ibid.*, 151.

The children have to encounter this aspect of life sooner or later. Sometimes, it is sooner, as children loose one of their loved ones; but when it is a peer, it is difficult. Children are taught everything starts out young and grows old; how do you explain and accept losing one so young?

There are conflicting attitudes of normal persons toward the handicapped --- acceptance and rejection, sympathy and pitilessness, trust and fear, and valuation and devaluation are the rule."[16] Experiences must be provided for socialization. The handicapped individual is often denied these necessary experiences. It may be due to parental overprotection, and partially because the situations are just lacking. Often, the disabled individual will be personnally bussed to and from school, as mentioned earlier, by the school district leaving after-school activities omitted; or social activities will be scheduled for the evening and the child again has a transportation problem. During school hours the child may be absent due to therapies or other routines during scheduled time-out activities. Hence, the child's gap between him and his nonhandicapped peers widen. The teacher's goal should be to provide situations within the school's academic course of affairs for providing socialization. Some examples are joint projects such as hall monitoring and games (as previously mentioned), the buddy system of studying, or class plays and art projects.

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[16] Barker and Wright, op.cit., 24.

Often, these socialization skills will have to be taught to make up for the lack of social interaction. Therefore, rules of etiquette could be taught and practiced, grooming and hygiene discussed, listening skills and open-class discussions would be a few ways that the teacher could help the disabled and nondisabled individuals toward normalization. It would be a nochalant ploy on the teacher's part to help the disabled child compensate and the nondisabled individuals benefit as well from the review.

When the time is available social skills may best be acquired during recreation. Physically handicapped people often excel in sports/recreational activities, even though their physical appearances are deceiving. By the gym teacher or classroom teacher consulting occupational therapy and/or physical therapy the child's best recreational skills could be detected and modified, if necessary, to put the disabled child on a level with his nondisabled peers for equal success. An example is the game of ping pong. The individual who has difficulty ambulating and fatiguing easily could sit down to play and score for eleven points rather than standing and obtaining the usual score of twenty-one. Perhaps with a reasonable rest period between two, eleven point games, winning or losing would be accomplished by the handicapped individual's own skill --- not because of a physical disability or the nondisabled student feeling sorry and letting the disabled child win. This game promotes group interaction, etiquette skills, sportsmanship, and enjoyment for all. This illustrates modifying the rules, so that there is and equality between the individuals and neither feels anxiety or superiority.

The psychological benefits and hardships the physically disabled and nondisabled children face from mainstreaming are insurmountable. From this experience though, normalization can grow. The road to normalization is difficult; and by mainstreaming the psychological growth and adjustment for both types of children will take place and prosper.

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